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CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME V. JANUARY, 1895 NUMBER 1

NEW epochs bring to the church new opportunities. It is the mission of the student of the New Testament to see to it that such opportunities are not lost by a failure to discover in the teachings of Christ principles for the inspiration and the control of the needed effort. The function of the Christian ministry is to transmute religious instinct into moral motive by the exposition of Christian truth. So far as the ministry in the past has been true to this mission, it has influenced the world. If there has been any part of life for which the church has had no message, so far has its influence been lessened. The characteristic opportunity of today is furnished by the new and impressive prominence of social questions and social reforms. What share shall the student of the New Testament have in their discussion? Can he bring any aid to the solution of the questions and the accomplishment of the reforms?

THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED BY SOCIOLOGY TO NEW TESTAMENT STUDENTS

THANKS to the propagation of extemporaneous social gospels, in the minds of many earnest Christians the word *social* is interchangeable with *socialistic* and even *anarchist*. Many of the objections felt against the study of Sociology by students for the ministry are due to a similar confusion. If the student of the New Testament as the guide of the religious community does nothing more than make clear

DEFINITIONS MUST BE CLARIFIED

the distinction between these words, he has served well the cause of an aggressive Christianity. It is much to know that Christ often used the term Kingdom where we should say Society, and that he sought not merely regenerated individuals, but a Holy City.

CHRISTIAN truth is of necessity a social force. The history of the last nineteen centuries has made this axiomatic. Christian teachers, it is true, have not always consciously undertaken to be social leaders, but the leaven of the kingdom has been behind the elevation of woman, the emancipation of the slave, the abolition of branding, the better care of lunatics and prisoners, the destruction of religious vice. Back of the awakening human sympathy that so distinguishes the thought of today, lies the reiteration of the story of God's love, of the Golden Rule, of the teaching of man's brotherhood and God's fatherhood,—in a word, of the story of Jesus Christ. The need of today is simply that such Christian influence be exerted more avowedly and more scientifically.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH NOT A NEW DISCOVERY

IN the way of preparing for such an application of New Testament teaching to special problems of today, two things are indispensable: (1) a knowledge of modern social science. Unless one has kept in touch with the latest thinking, this term means little. But in no department of investigation has there been more progress. The new problems that spring from the concentration of labor and capital, the maintenance of industrial peace, the settlement of industrial war, the duties of social classes to each other, the prevention and punishment of crime; these and a multitude of others are being solved today, not by glittering generalities but by the patient accumulation of facts, and by cautious induction. Sociology is no fad. It is a sober and persistent attempt to discover the laws underlying the association of men as a step in human progress. It is thus within the realm of Christian effort. For

THE FIRST PREREQUISITE FOR THE STUDENT— A KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

anyone who would apply Christianity to social ills to neglect its data and conclusions is as inexcusable as for a physician to neglect physiology and pathology. The New Testament teaching is as much for the Kingdom as for each of its subjects.

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(2) CHRISTIAN doctrine in its social application has suffered at the hands of foe and friend alike. He who declares Christianity mere other-worldliness is no more ignorant of New Testament teachings than is he who declares those teachings socialistic. Unfortunately the teacher of sociology is too often quite as ignorant of exegetical processes as is many a new-fledged reformer of economics and social science. Just at present it is fashionable to buttress sociological sentimentality —too often called "Christian Sociology"—with an uncritical and deluding citation of Scripture. The believer in the universal fatherhood of God—a truth undoubtedly to be found in the New Testament—sees no harm in appropriating to his own use the term "our Father," regardless of its context and its content. The same is true of the expressions "Kingdom of God" and "Kingdom of Heaven,"—indeed, of any phrase or figure whose words are capable of lending the sanctity of religion to the crudity of theory. We lack yet an exhaustive and unprejudiced exegetical investigation of the social teachings of Christ and the apostles.

CAREFUL EXEGESIS OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT YET LACKING

WE protest against this abuse of Christian truth. There is no question that Christ's teachings include those preëminently social, but such teachings are no more to be discovered by the blind use of a concordance than is a system of Biblical Theology. Indeed, if for nothing more than the deliverance of the New Testament from the hands of violent though well-meaning men, there is need of a Biblical Sociology, that shall do for Systematic Sociology what Biblical Theology is doing for Dogmatic Theology. If this is at present impracticable, the man who would substantiate his social evangel with New Testament teachings

SUCH EXEGESIS, THE SECOND PREREQUISITE

should at any rate pause long enough to inquire whether the most elementary rules of interpretation permit him to apply the descriptions of believers in Christ to the world at large. Unless there be discrimination and understanding here, there is an end of the fundamental and the characteristic distinction of Christian doctrine—the unlikeness of the regenerate and the unregenerate character.

The New Form of Materialistic Thought not Otherwise Met

One unfortunate element in this miscellaneous use of Scripture by its friends is in its inability to counteract the materialistic tendency given social science by its pioneer expounders. Sympathy, be it never so broad, cannot replace truth; how much less, then, can sentimentality? And truth must be the final court of appeal. If we cannot trust the New Testament's social teachings to stand when determined accurately, we may as well cease using them. In the long run, anti-Christian teachings are confounded, not by an accommodated gospel, but by the very gospel. Once let the real Christian conception of man and society be known and taught, and a godless sociology will follow a departing godless metaphysics. Few tasks more promising or fuller of possible influence upon modern thought await the student of the New Testament than the discovery of these genuine social teachings. In a singularly literal sense, men devoted to social study are eager for a new gospel of the kingdom. But they need the real gospel of Jesus the Christ and not that of some revolutionary Jesus Bar-abbas.

Most Sociologists Indifferent to Exegesis

Who can furnish this social gospel of Christ if it be not the trained exegete? Few, indeed, are the teachers of sociology who have had any training in biblical science. To most of them even the fundamental formulas of theology are unknown. Worse than this, to judge from their writings, few scientific authorities on social matters appear to care to determine exactly what a term or phrase was really intended by Christ or his apostles to mean They prefer to read into the words of the gospel their own views,

however foreign they may be to the times or the body of teaching of the New Testament. The same man who ridicules the extravagances of verbal inspiration, sees no impropriety in drafting New Testament language into the service of some theory that will perish with the using. The same man who accepts gratefully the conclusions and analogies of biology, is apparently oblivious to the science of exegesis. Feeling the social dynamics of Christianity, he deems it unnecessary painful to discover what these mighty teachings really are.

THUS an unscientific Christian zeal and an unchristian science that would use gospel terms need the results of New Testament study. But this is not all. More than commonly does the drift of social teachings of all sorts demand again the emphasis of the word of Jesus, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." In the noble zeal to improve the conditions of the poor there is an increasing danger that surroundings—environment—shall be regarded as omnipotent. Give the poor man a shorter working day, better food, better housing, better amusements, better sanitary fixings, and trust to evolution,—this is too often the gospel of social science. And at the same time none knows better than the sociologist that Utopias presuppose Utopians. The New Testament is not unique in teaching the importance of the individual character. But as a corrective for confidence in mere material improvement, the teachings of Jesus are unrivaled. As sociological theories too often attempt thus to improve the individual through society, so Christianity always seeks to improve society through the individual.

NOT THE REGENERATION OF SURROUNDINGS BUT OF CHARACTER, THE MESSAGE OF CHRIST

BUT here many present day phenomena require the introduction of a *caveat*. To discover and formulate the social teachings of the New Testament is not to propound or champion any short cut to the Millineum. If Rome was not built in a day, much less will be the city of God. Jesus Christ was a champion of neither individualism or socialism,

CAUTION

and the expounder of Christian truth may often find his clearest duty to consist in letting certain political and social ills and cures, severely alone. His concern is largely with principles. Exceptional circumstances will always demand exceptional action, but every man is not fitted to be a Parkhurst or a Booth. Intelligent interest in social questions and Christian teachings need not be prolific of amateur reformers in quest of ills to reform. To elevate and regenerate public opinion through the exposition of Christian truth is far more important in most sections of the United States today than to impeach magistrates and denounce classes.

Conclusion

No line of investigation is more popular and destined to exert more widespread influence than that of sociology. It is yet in its formative stage, and is still capable of being influenced by the social teachings of the New Testament. Over-zealous, though ill-informed, men seeing this, are misinterpreting and misapplying both social science and Christian truth. One great reason of this double misfortune is the lack of any clear presentation of the social teachings of the New Testament. This lack can not be supplied by the mere sociologist. It must be met by the exegete. Thus there comes to the student of the New Testament the opportunity of bringing the teachings of Christ into a new and most promising field, of influencing what is bound to become a great factor in producing a higher civilization. The duty here for every sane and earnest man is vast. Infidel France is the child of the anti-ecclesiastical philosophy of the eighteenth century and the unchurched Revolution of '89. In a few years the possibility of making Christian truth a great part of a social philosophy may have passed, new social conditions may have become set, the greatest opportunity opened to the church for centuries may have been lost, the day of inspiration and direction may have given place to that of opposition and contempt.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

I. The Religious Ideas of the Jews in the Time of Jesus.

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The ideas the background of Jesus' teaching.—The Jewish doctrine of God and its practical effects.—The Jewish doctrine of righteousness and its two-fold danger illustrated from gospels and from Paul.—Jesus' teaching of God faith, and the person and work of the Messiah.—The latter contrasted with Jewish Messianic hopes.—The conflict of Jesus with the Jews both as Messiah and teacher.

Recent writers on the teaching of Jesus have justly emphasized the importance of studying the religious life and thinking of the Jews in the time when our Lord lived upon earth. These ideas form a background upon which his teaching is set, and the study of them throws no little light upon his own words. Sometimes we find a noticeable likeness between his ideas and words and those which were current among the Jews in his time. We should expect that he would often take up expressions and forms of thought that were common among his people; this he does, but he generally fills the old words and phrases with new and deeper meanings than they had for the Jewish mind. But in studying the religious ideas of Jesus' time we are more struck by the wide difference between his thoughts and those of his contemporaries than by their resemblance. The similarities are rather incidental than fundamental; they concern rather the form than the substance of his teaching.

These statements any careful reader of the Bible can illustrate and verify for himself. The religious notions of the Jews, in all essential particulars, can be learned from the New Testament itself; but the researches of scholars in the later Jewish literature have added greatly to the clearness and completeness of the picture of Jewish teaching which the New Testament presents.

This teaching I shall now illustrate in some important points, in respect to which the reader of the Gospels should always compare the conceptions of Jesus with those which were common in his age.[1]

Take, in the first place, the Jewish idea of God. The idea of God's exaltation above the world was carried so far by the Jews that he was almost separated from the world altogether. God was thought of almost entirely as a judge or governor. His relations with men were conceived of in a legal, rather than in a moral way. God was an accountant who exactly credited all good deeds and with equal exactness estimated and punished all transgressions of his law. It will readily be seen how the extreme development of this idea would tend to exclude the truth of God's grace from the minds of men. The very idea of God's grace is that he treats men better than they deserve; that he deals generously, benevolently with them and not in mere naked justice. The possibility of forgiveness lies in the grace of God. If he should with unsparing strictness mark iniquities, the Psalmist teaches, no one could stand, but there is forgiveness with him.

This notion of God exerted a most important influence on practical religion. The God who was far away in the heavens had made a revelation of his will in the laws and ceremonies of the Pentateuch, and religion consisted, to the mind of the Jew, in strict obedience to all the requirements of this ritualistic system. In all this the Jew was by no means wholly wrong; the law did contain the great principles of love and service which Jesus declared to be the sum of all goodness. It was a one-sided view of God and his requirements which led the Jewish mind astray. The main emphasis was laid on the externals of religion as being a means of pleasing God and winning his favor. Had God been conceived of as a moral Being who cares most for the moral state of men, that is, their inner life, their motives, feelings and principles, the Jews would not have been likely to fall into those errors respecting religion which made it consist mainly in outward observances and rites.

[1] The reader will find popular Jewish thought more fully illustrated in Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus* and in Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus.*

There were some important elements of truth in the popular Jewish idea of God. What is called by theologians God's "transcendence"—his independence of the world and superiority to it—was strongly emphasized, but the complementary truth of God's constant presence in the world was correspondingly obscured. And with this "transcendence" were associated ideas of arbitrariness, legal strictness and harshness, rather than ideas of moral excellence or love. So perverted an idea of God's nature and relations to the world could only lead to superficial conceptions of his will and requirements. One has but to read the allusions which Jesus made to the religious ideas of the Pharisees to see what popular religion had become. It was a round of ceremonies and observances most of which had nothing to do with the state of the heart and life—a tithing of mint, anise and cummin, while judgment and the love of God were forgotten.

We are thus led to the consideration of the current idea of righteousness among the Jews in contrast to that which Jesus presents. Their idea of righteousness grew out of their conception of God and of his revelation. It consisted in obedience to commandments, and these commandments were looked at in quite an external way. The rich young man who came to Jesus asking what he should do to inherit eternal life is a good concrete illustration of the view which the Jews took of the commandments. He said that he had kept them all. He evidently considered that to refrain from doing those evil deeds—stealing, lying, Sabbath-breaking, and the like—which the commandments forbade, was to keep the commandments perfectly. Only a superficial conception of the import and bearing of the commandments could underlie his claim that he had kept them all from his youth. The same faulty notion of the real moral requirements of the law lay at the root of the pride and self-righteousness of the Pharisees. They thought themselves righteous only because they measured themselves by an imperfect standard, an inadequate idea of the demands which the law made upon the inner life.

It would not, of course, be correct to suppose that all the Jews supposed themselves to have kept the law perfectly. On

the contrary they invented various devices by which they believed they could make good their personal deficiencies. Specially great sufferings and meritorious works, such as almsgiving, were thought to have an atoning efficacy. The extraordinary merits of one's ancestors or friends might avail to supply defects in obedience. But the personally righteous life consisted in the observance of all the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the law and in refraining from all the acts which the law forbids.

No one would claim that this idea of righteousness was wholly wrong; it was rather one-sided and defective. It placed righteousness too much in externals and too little in the state of the heart. It exaggerated the ritual features of religion and overlooked its deeper spiritual requirements upon conduct and life. Either one of two results might flow from this externalism in religion—results which would be equally detrimental to a healthy religious life. On the one hand, if one supposed himself to have done all that was required, he would easily fall a prey to spiritual pride, for had not he achieved this lofty height of goodness by his own exertions? On the other hand, if a man felt that he had failed to do the divine will and to win acceptance with God, he would naturally become hopeless and despondent. We accordingly find that the religious life of the Jewish people, to a great extent, oscillated between self-righteousness and despair.

The former of these tendencies of the system in question is amply illustrated in the pages of the New Testament. The hypocrisy and self-righteousness of the Pharisees which are so clearly depicted in the Gospels are examples of the first result, which was, no doubt, the more common one. But I believe that we have in the New Testament a striking example of the other result, although it is not always understood in the way in which I shall explain it. I refer to the description by the apostle Paul in the seventh chapter of Romans of a certain conflict between the reason or conscience and the power of sin. This conflict he describes in the first person, thus indicating that he had himself experienced it. Let us examine his account of the experience more particularly, beginning at the seventh verse.

The apostle states that he became conscious of his sin because the law came to him and forbade him to do certain deeds. The law revealed him to himself; it acted like a mirror into which he looked and saw himself. Moreover, it called out his native sinful tendencies into expression. "I was alive apart from the law once," exclaims the apostle, "but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." His meaning is that he was living on in fancied security and self-satisfaction until he saw the high and holy demands of God's law; thereupon all his pride and selfishness perished — that is, morally speaking he was slain. What, then, was it in him to which the divine law was so strenuously opposed? Paul answers that it was sin, and then he enters on a description of two forces, or elements in his being, one of which consents to the law and would obey it, and the other of which is hostile to it. The former of these powers or dispositions Paul calls the "inward man" and "the law of his mind;" the latter is sin which dwells in his members and so dominates his will that he cannot do what he would. This inward man, or reason, is, no doubt, what we should call conscience. The result of this conflict is that the better part of the nature in which it goes on is worsted and that the man exclaims in despair: "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?"

What can this picture be but a description of Paul's experience as a Pharisee when he was seeking to find peace with God by works of righteousness which he would do? We could have no more vivid a portrayal, I think, than this of the natural effect of the popular view respecting salvation by the law upon the mind of a man whose heart and conscience had been awakened to something like an adequate sense of what the law really demanded. When the high ideal of the law was seen, as it was by Paul, the real helplessness of weak and sinful human nature appeared, and where there was no other idea of salvation except that of acceptance by merit, despair was the inevitable result.

Now when Jesus came, he presented a very different idea of the way in which men were to find acceptance with God. He taught that trust or faith was what God required. "This is the work of God, that ye believe on the name of his Son," he said.

This teaching opens a way of salvation on which anyone, however weak and sinful, may enter. It is not necessary to climb up into God's favor by meritorious works; nor is it possible, since the power of sin is so great in unrenewed human nature. In substituting faith for works Jesus gave quite a new character to religion. He opened the way to real repose of soul because in faith we do not rest upon our own achievements, but in God's mercy. We have a secure ground of hope in the goodness of God.

But faith, in our Saviour's teaching, is not a mere passive principle; it involves love and obedience. Real trust in God implies living fellowship with him. Thus faith sets man in his true relation to God because it both opens his life to the divine grace and also calls forth his own best aspiration and effort after likeness to God. Christ's teaching, therefore, replaces self-righteousness by humility, and substitutes confidence for despair. Its whole idea is that of a vital, loving relation with God.

The teaching of Jesus presents a great contrast to the Jewish ideas of his time in regard to the person and work of the Messiah. The popular Messianic idea had been formed from those prophecies which represented the Messiah as a Prince or King. These representations were taken in a literal or worldly sense. The Messiah was to be another David who should restore the monarchy to power and glory, subdue hostile nations and rule the conquered world in unsurpassed majesty. When, therefore, Jesus appeared, claiming to be the Messiah, and yet did nothing which the Jews expected the Messiah to do, it is not strange, in one point of view, that they rejected his claim. And, especially, when he began to teach that he must suffer death, were his contemporaries offended at his claim to be the Messiah. Even his disciples found it hard to overcome their Jewish prejudices respecting Messiah's person so far as to see how their Master could be destined to suffer death: "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall never be unto thee," exclaimed Peter on one occasion when Jesus had been saying that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things, and at last be put to death.

The Jews of our Lord's time did not hold the doctrine of a

suffering Messiah. The Old Testament passages which describe the suffering Servant of Jehovah, such as Isa. 53, they neglected or ingeniously explained away. According to one explanation there was to be a preparatory Messiah, the son of Joseph, who was to suffer and so fulfill the prophecies concerning the suffering Servant. The Jewish Messianic ideal was too much associated with thoughts of earthly power and glory to permit of reconciliation with the notion that the Messiah should die an ignominious death. In every essential respect, therefore, did Jesus disappoint the expectations of the Jews in regard to Messiah's work and kingdom. When he rode in triumph into Jerusalem in fulfillment of the prophecy that the King of Zion should come in meekness, sitting upon an ass (the animal which symbolizes peace, as the horse represents war) he was indeed acknowledged as the Messiah by a multitude, but the nation as a whole was as hostile as ever.

The rejection of the messiahship of Jesus by the Jews was, therefore, natural. With their ideas and prejudices they could not see their long-expected Messiah in a humble, spiritual teacher and, especially, not in a "man of sorrows." But this blindness by no means excuses the Jews for the rejection of the Christ. It was their selfishness and worldliness which had blinded their eyes to the deeper spiritual meaning of their own Scriptures. Jesus told them truly that they did not hear the voice of God which spoke to them in Sacred Scripture, They searched the Scriptures, thinking to find eternal life in them, but they did not find it because they searched with such perverted judgment and with such carnal hopes. If they had studied the Old Testament rightly they would have found himself as the Christ there and thus would have found the true messianic salvation in the life of love and of fellowship with God.

There are many illustrations in the New Testament of the fact that Jesus' disciples found it very hard to adopt his idea of the kingdom of God instead of that which, as Jews, they had been accustomed to cherish. They once asked him: "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" and after his death, on the way to Emmaus, they sorrowfully refer to their

disappointed hope that he should have redeemed Israel. Jesus had often to remind them that his kingdom was spiritual: "My kingdom is not of this world," he said.

An inevitable result of the ideas of salvation, righteousness, and the kingdom of God which we have noticed, was that the Jews regarded themselves as the special favorites of heaven. To them God had given his only revelation, and to them he had restricted his saving mercy. The Old Testament had presented the idea that God had bestowed peculiar privileges upon the Jews in order that they might be the bearers of true religion to the world. They, on the other hand, considered their privileges as destined for themselves alone. The favors of heaven should stop with them and be their exclusive possession. This attitude of mind involved the great perversion of Israel's history. By failing to receive Christ and his world-wide conception of salvation, they broke with the sublime purpose of God in their own history, and failed to attain the true goal of their existence as the theocratic people.

The illustrations of Jewish ideas which I have given will serve to show how uncongenial to the spiritual truth of Jesus was the soil in which he must plant it. To the thought of his age God was afar off, his service was a round of rites and observances, righteousness was an external, and largely a non-moral, affair, and the great hope of the nation was to subdue, by divine intervention, the surrounding nations and to obtain supremacy over the world. With all these ideas and hopes the teachings of Jesus came into the sharpest collison. He aimed to show men that God was near to them and that they could live in fellowship with him. He taught that all outward rites were valueless in themselves and that God cared most about the state of the heart For him righteousness consisted in Godlikeness, that is, in love, service, and helpfulness.

How great were the obstacles which Jesus encountered in securing a reception for his truths among men! A few, however, accepted them and believed on him as the true Messiah and Saviour. But this acceptance was often mixed up with misapprehension of his truth and work, and faith was, in many cases,

very defective. But in most faith was, at least, sincere and was strengthened by strong attachment to his person. As time went on that faith matured and came to rest upon deeper and more adequate grounds. Under what difficulties, and with what small beginnings, was the great work of Christianity begun!

THE DRAMA IN SEMITIC LITERATURE.

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In the following paper an attempt is made to solve the problem of the position of the drama in Semitic literature and, especially, in the literature of the Hebrews. The result of the inquiry will, I believe, be almost purely negative, but the curious form which that negative result will take, the richness and strange contrasts of the literature through which the path to it must lie, and the conclusion in ethnology which it will involve will, perhaps, be found to afford a sufficient recompense for a chase which technically results in nothing. We do not want theories, however enchanting, but facts.

The substance of this paper was read before a meeting of the Connecticut Association of Alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary. This may explain its somewhat colloquial tone.

I use drama, practically, in Aristotle's sense. It is an imitation of life, consisting of an action with a beginning, middle, and end, a unity with a regular development and termination. And this action is represented by men *acting;* that is, speaking and behaving as the individuals involved in the action, and not by means of narrative. This is what separates the drama from the epic. It is sufficiently exact for the purpose, though it will be noticed that it omits many of the points which Aristotle thought it necessary to prove it. Next, by "Semitic" I mean, in the first instance, the Semitic languages. We can speak of the Semitic group of languages because these languages really are closely connected with one another, but it would be a grave error to go on to speak of Semitic peoples, because we have no warrant that the peoples which speak or spoke these languages are or were of kindred blood.

We have, then, to take these languages and examine whether in their extant literature we can find productions answering to

the definition of the drama already laid down. In the case of two, Assyrian and Egyptian, the remains are too fragmentary for any absolute opinion to be possible. Still, if there had been any Assyrian drama it is probable that traces of it would already have been found, and as to an Egyptian drama, in the exact sense, we may say almost decidedly that there was none. Ethiopic may be dismissed with equal brevity.

Next we may take Syriac—the Aramaic dialect of Edessa and the only Aramaic dialect which has attained distinct literary form and importance. In it there are no dramatic remains. This is the more curious because the Syriac literature is through and through affected by Greek influence. Not only the literature but the language itself came under the spell of Hellenic thought. It is full of words borrowed from Greek and constructions imitating Greek. Its theology, its philosophy, its history, draw upon Greek sources. Further, there were—and are still extant in fragments—translations of the Greek poets, for example, a translation of Homer. Again, it was through Syriac that Aristotelian science was passed on to the Persians and by them—and by the Syrians also independently—to the Arabs, through whom it returned to put a strait-waistcoat on the mind of Europe. Such was the circle through which Aristotle went. But despite all this, there is no drama in Syriac; its speakers did not even translate the Greek drama. From that they could not have been withheld by any religious feeling. When Julian closed the schools against the Christians and forbade them the use of the Greek classics, they set zealously to work to write epics and dramas upon Christian subjects. Then, apparently, the church and the stage were not at loggerheads. We can only, therefore, register as another fact—there was no drama in Syriac.

Turn now to Arabic. Here, if anywhere, we would expect to find what we are seeking. The Arabic literature is one of the great literatures of the world. If we measure by bulk, that in English alone could have competed with it; if by quality, making due allowance for difference in literary ideals, it still stands in the first rank. In it we find representatives, and not one or two only, but great numbers, of almost every form of literary activity

that the human mind has manifested. We have history of the world, of countries, of towns, of individuals; political science, legal science, theological science, natural science, philosophy, geography, poetry, fiction, linguistics—it would be hard to draw up a list that would exhaust the treasures of Arabic letters. But, still, there are gaps, very strange and interesting gaps, and the strangest and most interesting is the drama. There is no drama in Arabic. Within the last few years plays have appeared in Arabic translation. Thus some years ago there was published at Cairo adaptation of the *Tartuffe* of Molière into vulgar Arabic, but the strangeness of this phenomenon only serves to show how anomalous it is. Again, Burton mentions having seen stories from the "1001 Nights" given in dramatic form in the courtyard of his house at Damascus, and there have been printed at Beirut one or two such little sketches. But there is no doubt that here we have to do with Turkish and Western influence, and the point will be dealt with later. I can then only repeat that there is no drama in Arabic.

What as to Hebrew? As there is more general familiarity with this literature, more detail is here necessary. In the Old Testament, there are two books for which the claim has been set up, and is still very generally maintained, that they are cast in dramatic form, or, as some assert more boldly, are dramas. These are the Song of Songs and Job. I have used the two phrases "to be cast in dramatic form" and "to be a drama" on account of the extraordinary dislike evinced by those treating of this subject to come down to an exact definition. One is sometimes driven to suspect that commentators on these books have not carefully studied out and clearly grasped what exactly constitutes a drama. It is curious to notice a distinguished exception to this in Lowth, a scholar trained in the clear exactitude of classical schools, in his lectures *De sacri poesi Hebræorum*, and to notice further how, as a consequence, he has been accused of endeavoring to make the Hebrews conform to a Greek rule. But haze and cloudiness are no signs of depth, oftener they are signs that there is still something held in suspension, and that the process of precipitation is not yet complete. I have already

indicated what, in my view, are the essential elements in a drama. First, there must be a distinct action with a development and a catastrophy, and, second, this must be represented by "acting" and not by narrative. I do not take these as the essential elements because they are those laid down by Aristotle and exemplified in Greek literature, but because they are exemplified in all dramatic literature, whether of India, of Greece, or of modern Europe. They are common to the plays of Kálidása, of Sophocles, and of Ibsen. Starting from those, then, how are we to judge the Song of Songs? Has it an action? Is it "acted"? But we can push the question farther back and ask —is it a unity at all? The official answer is that it is a unity and has an action, but what that action may be is a point with regard to which the different exegetes are by no means at one. The view of Ewald, which at present may be said to hold the field, is that the action is the triumph of the loves of the Shulammite and a shepherd, her lover, over Solomon, his rival. But, on the other hand, there is a precisely opposite reconstruction by Delitzsch in which the shepherd lover is omitted, and the somewhat purposeless action of the poem is simply the loves of the Shulammite and Solomon. Further, Renan had a third diverging hypothesis which we need not go into, and, in fact, every investigator of the book has had his own view as to what it was about. It is to Renan's credit that he confessed with that ingenuous candor which is so refreshing in his writings as compared with those of most exegetes, that he would like to take the last chapter of the book and put it at the beginning. But there are signs that all this is passing. The venerable authority of Ewald was the real stay of the dramatic hypothesis, but now the younger men are beginning to revolt, and though the unity of the book may be maintained for some time, yet the idea that it contains an action is rapidly losing ground. I am not concerned at present to consider what the Song of Songs is if it is not a drama; that it is not a drama in any right sense is to me clear. But, yet, I would throw out the following suggestion on the constructive side, not as a contribution to the investigation of the Song of Songs, but of Semitic poetry. Take such alittle song-

cycle as Tennyson's "Song of the Wrens," remove from it the little thread of story that is told in the individual songs, that is, everything that comes from the outside, and leave only in them the subjective feeling and emotion of their singer, the expression, in many words, of his worship and praise of his love, and you will have such a literary product as meets us at present in the Song of Songs. Like all Semitic poetry it is purely suggestive; like all Semitic poetry it does not narrate, it registers facts of consciousness only. Thus it is dramatic in the sense that many of Browning's poems are dramatic but in no other, or it might be compared with Rossetti's sonnet-sequence "The House of Life," but further we cannot go. This canon of the subjectivity of Semitic poetry will be clearer in the case of Job.

In the book of Job we have the nearest approach to a drama that exists in the whole range of Semitic. Its writer, a man evidently of the first genius, is working in the dramatic direction and is striving to cover by pure brain energy, and in his single artistic life, the course of development which was run unconsciously in other lands by generations of poets. In Greece we can watch the tragic drama developing gradually from and round the chorus, and having its point of origin in the extemporary efforts of the leaders of dithyrambs. Then in the hands of Æschylus and Sophocles the dramatic action became the more important part and the chorus fell into the background. Here there was something to start from — the mimetic efforts of the leader of the dithyramb — but this possible point of departure was lacking for the Hebrew poet, he had to evolve all his conceptions at first hand and from first principles. The wonder is that he reached so clear a view of the dramatic idea, and succeeded so far as he did in carrying it out. His view was not essentially clear and his carrying out of his idea is highly defective, but he had taken the first step, and if he had found followers we might have had a true Hebrew drama. But that was not to be, could not be as will appear hereafter, and his poem remains a strange but barren variation.

But if the book of Job is a drama or if it exhibits dramatic

beginnings it must have an action, perfect or imperfect, and the question now is, where are we to look for that action and what is it? It will be remembered that in the prologue God is tempted by the accusing spirit to afflict Job. Job is afflicted but remains in ignorance of the cause of his afflictions. All this is preliminary and is cleared out of the way in the prologue. Then the drama itself begins, and if I read it rightly, the ideal end would be that Job would be brought to know either in detail or in essence what had taken place in the prologue, that his afflictions did not take their origin from sin on his part as his friends suggested, nor were they merely freaks on God's part as he himself was apt to imagine, but that they had had a definite and purposeful origin in the council of the Most High. This end is not perfectly attained; the skill of the writer is not equal to it. We feel that Job only reaches a somewhat vague conception that it is for man in all cases to submit himself before God. It is true that what we may call the second plot is carried out successfully. Job's friends are absolutely refuted—affliction does not point to sin—and Job is led to abandon his feeling that there is arbitrariness in the actions of God, but we do not see clearly why logically he should abandon it. Strictly the knot is cut by a *deus ex machine*. Job has to be brought into a certain frame of mind and the appearance of God and his speeches are the means adopted to produce it, but even so sober an exegete as Davidson feels that the method is rather hard upon Job.

This, then, is the action, but where does it take place? Here we have the crowning peculiarity of the book as a drama—the action takes place within the mind of Job, it is purely subjective. It is not in Job's speeches and his friends' answers, in the dialogue of the poem, though those speeches show what is going on within Job's mind, it is in the development of Job himself under the pressure of his afflictions. Thus we are brought again to the same phenomenon that we noticed in the Song of Songs—the subjective character of Semitic poetry.

I have already compared this development in Hebrew literature with that development in Greek which produced the drama of Æschylus and Sophocles. But we may bring it especially

close to an early play of Æschylus, the Prometheus. The situations are closely alike in both Job and Prometheus, being brought into antagonism with the divine government of the world, but stand far apart in the attitude which each takes up. Nothing could show more clearly the absoluteness of the difference between the Greek and the Hebrew points of view. On the one hand we have the clear-sighted vision and defiance of Prometheus with its intellectual lucidity, on the other, the groping and uncertainty of Job with his moral earnestness and outspokenness. The one has a God before whom he cannot bow and he sees that clearly; the other, one before whom he trembles, is confused and uncertain, yet ever holds fast the eternal facts of his moral consciousness. Prometheus is sure of himself and is sure that Zeus is a criminal; Job is sure of himself but is not certain what to think of God. We have the absolute antagonism between the intellectual and the religious consciousness; Prometheus thinks, but Job feels. Again, it is curious to notice that just as the purpose and aim of the book of Job is one of the great puzzles of Hebrew literature, so it is in Greek with the Prometheus of Æschylus. The inner meaning of the poem has been long and vainly sought and the theories are almost as multitudinous as those of the book of Job.

All this, however, is strictly apart from our subject. But it is not apart to notice that in both cases we have a simple action, that is, in Aristotle's, an action in which there is transition without either revolution or discovery. The action simply progresses, event follows event but there is no sudden change altering the whole complexion of the situation. But this has to be sharply distinguished from a "single action" drama. In Job there are two actions, the one developed in the dialogue, the discomfiture of his friends, the other and the main one, the development in Job's mind. Again, we may curiously compare the action with a type of plot developed in the most modern drama. In many of the plays of Ibsen,[1] more or less in them all, the action begins with a highly complicated and involved situation, the result of something that has preceded the play itself, and the

[1] E. G. Resmersholm.

action of the play is really to develop and make plain this situation to the audience. This is exactly like the making plain to Job what has gone before in the prologue — Job is both subject and audience. Here we see that the mental idea of a drama had not come home to the author — and how could it? He had nothing to start from — the idea, I mean, that everything that is said, is said with reference to a third party, the hearer — to make clear to him what is going on and thus to tell to him the story.

I have now dealt with the only two poems in the extant fragments of the Hebrew literature, which can lay any claim to being dramas. We have seen how far we may regard the book of Job as a drama and where it diverges. Possibly, some may think that it diverges too widely to come in any way under that category. I shall not quarrel with such a view. I shall only say here that this beginning did not, so far as our knowledge goes, develop any further. There did not arise a Hebrew drama.

Can we now assign any cause for this remarkable phenomenon, the absence of the drama in Semitic. How remarkable it is a glance at other literature shows. In India the drama has flourished from very early times. In Persia the drama has been cultivated to some extent, principally within the last century — of pre-Moslem Persian literature we really know nothing — and it is curious to notice that it seems to have taken its origin in the Kerbela miracle plays on the death of Hasan and Hasayn. In Turkey there has long existed a popular drama in the form of puppet plays and shadow plays which were probably the origin of the recent attempts in Syria already noticed, and of some attempts in Egypt, and of late years there has grown up an immense theatrical literature consisting of translations and original imitations of French plays. The speed with which this has appeared and its general excellence show that the soil had been long prepared by the native popular plays. Of the Greek drama it is needless to speak.

With drama-producing peoples thus surrounding them in close contact with them, how was no drama developed by the Semitic speaking peoples? The idea of the isolation even of Arabia, which to so many has seemed so obsolete, is beginning

to break down. Recent investigators have sought to explain the Arab metres as due to Greek influence acting through Alexandria and its mixed civilization. But then why was the tragedy not carried with its iambic? In the first generation of Islam, Greek words were used at Mecca; what of the Greek thoughts? We have seen already how Syriac simply transformed itself under Greek influence, but drew the line at the Greek drama. Again we must ask, why? Was there something in the nature of Semitic literature which made it absolutely antagonistic to dramatic forms? This is a hard and complicated question and can only be tentatively approached. But I would put forward some considerations which may, perhaps, throw light upon it. It will be remembered that the characteristic which was found marring the dramatic character both of the Song of Songs and of Job was subjectivity. That holds of all Semitic verse. Matthew Arnold defined literature as a criticism of life; that is true in the highest degree of Semitic poetry. It is a register of the experiences of the poet. He does not show us things as they are, but as they are to him and as they have affected him. His descriptions are thus always subjective, and as an example of the same thing in English verse Browning's "Childe Roland to the dark tower came" may be taken. Unless you are wary and know your Browning very well, you begin to read this expecting to find a fragment of narrative or description in clear objectivity, such as is found in the old metrical romances or in the verse of Scott, or even in the Tennysonian Idyl, but it is something very different. The journey is described, it is true, but it is described through its effects upon the adventurer. It is his sensations and ideas of which we read, not the road itself. Compare it then with the description in Scott's Bridal of Triermain, which I am almost certain was its starting point,[2] where the Vaux comes to the Castle of St John. There you have objectivity. His path is

[2] Compare in Scott the reference:

"List how she tells in notes of flame,
Childe Roland to the dark tower came."

A comparison, too, is possible with the companion, though so different, little poem where Harold the Vauntless comes to the Castle of the Seven Shields.

described, the scene is described, you learn how he felt, but you learn this because you are told it, not because you are made to feel it through something else. Each stands clearly apart by itself. You may say, the scene in Triermain is in the third person, but in Browning's poem Childe Roland speaks. And there you have touched another difference in Semitic verse; it is in the first poem. The poet and his subject are one. I do not know in Arabic a single narrative poem. In Sanskrit, in Persian, in Greek, we have long heroic poems; in Arabic there are none.[3] Take such an heroic tale as the long romance of "Antara," in which there are brought together all the traditions of the old wild Bedouin life before el-Islam. In it you will find that all the narrative is in prose, poetical prose it may be, but still prose, and as much as possible a narrator of that prose is introduced. From time to time there comes in the phrase: "So says the Kāwī, the hander-down of tradition." It is true that from time to time these come in magnificent snatches of verse, but these do not help on the story in the least. They simply record what was the feeling of one of the actors under such or such a circumstance. Antara sees in a vision the form of Alba, his beloved, and awakes and bursts into verse in her praise, but it is in prose that he journeys to the encampment of her tribe. He is challenged and insulted by some rival knight; his defiance he speaks in verse, but he avenges himself in prose. And so throughout all Arabic literature, in verse you can only set down the subjective feeling of the moment. It may involve a little description, but that description is like what we find in Browning's "Childe Roland."

Again, even a prose narrative the Arab prefers to have told in the first person. This arises from the nature of the language itself, for Semitic handles with difficulty all *oratio obliqua*. This peculiarity has been turned to good account by Professor Robertson in his Baird Lecture, where he defends the good faith of the writer of Deuteronomy even though that writer was not

[3] It is curious to notice that even the stories in Arabic prose can be traced to imitation of Persian. Mohammed met with it, and in a later day we have the Persian "Hezár Afsáneh" developing into the Arabic "Book of the 1001 Nights." In the same way we have "Kalēla wa-Dimna" and many others.

Moses. Writing in Hebrew, he could not express himself in any other way than by putting the words directly into the mouth of Moses.

Now, if all this is so, it is evident that here there is no possibility for the growth of a Semitic drama. The Semitic poet has to speak for himself, and the dramatic poet has to speak for several and to develop an action through that speaking, and these two cannot come together. The fierce individuality of the desert life had left too deep a mark for the Arab poet ever to enter into the thought of another.

But there remains another question. The author of Job missed the mark, his drama as a drama is a failure, but he came near enough to compel us to ask how he had come so near. From what idea or structural form did he begin. We know how, in India and Greece, the dithyrambic mingling of song and dance developed through pantomime into speech and action and the full scenic drama. In Persia, we see it similarly developing through the lamentation for the fate of the two beloved sons of Ali, the nephew of the prophet. In Turkey, as in China, we see it developing through shadow and puppet shows. What was the point of origin in Hebrew? For that we must look again to Arabic literature. There we find a literary form that is called the *Magāma*, which may be translated "Assembly." It is an example and product of the loving care that the Arab has bestowed upon his language and is, essentially, an exhibition by the writer of his mastery of the requirements of that language. We have to picture to ourselves an assembly of educated Arabs. Some little incident is narrated or happens to them, or some point in literature or religion or linguistic science—anything of intellectual curiosity—is discussed with an elaborate minuteness in the application of all the splendid resources of Arabic in idiom, in vocabulary, in discrimination of synonyms, in literary flexibility of style. To me, the book of Job is simply a continued series of *Magāmas*. The subject of the discussion is the misfortunes of the just and their relation to God, but instead of boldly introducing it, the writer makes use of the traditional story of Job to give a living and dramatic interest to his circle as speak-

ers. Thus a stage is gained not merely for an academic discussion but for pictures of life, vibrating and suffering. We are dealing with no mere abstract ideas but with present instances. Again, the *Magāma* in this case is not a monologue, as frequently, but a real discussion. The writer has cut himself sufficiently loose from Semitic trammels to be able to create the figures of each of the speakers, give each a certain individuality,—though in the case of the friends of Job not individualities differing very greatly, —and thus to touch the art of dramatic personation. Further he could not go. It was beyond his skill to set his action in motion. It remained obstinately sticking, like those constitutions which the French Directory turned out, one after the other, but which would not begin to move.

In this origin of his dramatic attempt we may find the causes of its failure. Firstly, he had begun at the wrong end — with the dialogue instead of the action. The dramas of India and Greece had begun through gesture and motion; his began through talking. Words will never produce motion; for that, motion itself is required. Secondly, we have here the explanation of the extreme length and often, in spite of the magnificence of the poetry, tiresome reiteration of his speeches. The speeches in a *Magāma* are the principal thing, or rather, they are the whole, and it is the pride of the Arab author to elaborate and develop them in order to display how happy and easy his touch in language is. I seem to feel in some parts of Job a similar artificiality, where the thought has been extended to give scope for play of language. At any rate, from such a starting point it was impossible to attain the strict dramatic ideal in which dialogue is only allowable in so far as it goes to develop the action.

Such, then, is all the drama which has arisen in Semitic literatures. It only remains to touch upon the ethnological question to which reference has been made. The Semitic languages and Semitic literatures alone have been mentioned; but is there anything in this train of thought to suggest that it may be possible to go a step farther and speak of Semitic peoples? The languages are one, is the blood of their speakers also one? If

the reasoning up to this point has been correct, there does not seem to be any escape from an affirmative answer. Such an extraordinary coincidence in literary attitude on a fundamental question cannot be explained by linguistic unity. It must go deeper and farther back, and base itself on a real unity of race. And if, in the future, it should ever be found that a people speaking a Semitic dialect had developed an independent drama or had not shown in their literature the quality of subjectivity so marked in that of the Arabs, it would go far to show that the people in question was of a non-Semitic stock. I conceive, then that the fact that the speakers of Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and the other Semitic dialects had no native drama is a weighty proof that they were of one blood and one origin.

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

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The aim of the paper. — Originality in the structure of the Apocalypse.— In its form.— The unity in its visions.— Original names for the Deity.— The descriptions of Christ.— References to Satan.— The beasts.— The judgment.— The descriptions of glorified believers.— The struggles of the followers of Christ.— Conclusion.

I.

The aim of the present paper is literary rather than doctrinal. I wish to show (*a*) how much of the structure and symbolism of the Apocalypse is to be regarded as an original product of John's mind, and (*b*) how much is either directly quoted from other Scripture or is at least largely colored by it, and (*c*) what relation, if any, the Apocalypse sustains to non-canonical Jewish writings of an apocalyptical character. These questions are of great interest as bearing both upon the authorship and the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

First, then, in regard to the structure of the Apocalypse, it can safely be said that it is unique. There is nothing like it elsewhere in Jewish literature, nor anything out of which it might have been developed. The first section of the book — the least original part — consists of a vision of Christ followed by his messages to seven churches. The speaker characterizes himself, in the first three letters, by symbols drawn from the initial vision (1:12–20); and in part he does so in the fourth and fifth letters. The structure of the letters themselves is original. Each at the beginning purports to be from Christ to a particular church; and each at the close is said to be a message of the Spirit to all the churches. Each of the letters is made up of the same elements, and these are in the same order with one exception. In the first three letters, the promise is at the end, immediately preceded by the injunction to hear what the Spirit says; in the last four letters

the injunction is at the end, immediately preceded by the promise. The other elements of the letters are (*a*) a symbolical designation of the speaker, (*b*) a statement of his knowledge of the church to which he is writing, and (*c*) the special message. The letters are thus highly artificial, and yet they are so varied in content and so rich in thought that the artificiality is not unpleasantly prominent. These letters form the basis and background for the subsequent portions of the Apocalypse.

The form in which the thought of the body of the book is presented is striking and poetical. All disclosures regarding the future are drawn by the author from a book which lies on the right hand of God. This book is sealed to all created beings in heaven, on earth, and under the earth. Only Christ is able to make its contents known. His agency in this work of revelation is formally stated only in connection with the seven seals, but is everywhere implied (1:1; 22:16). He opens the seals one after another, and the message of each appears in concrete, breathing forms. It is something to be seen, not read. In the case of the sixth seal the content is cosmical. There is an earthquake, an eclipse, the falling of stars, the removal of the firmament of heaven, and of every mountain and island. Between the sixth and seventh seals there is an episode (chap. 7), not formally developed out of the seals and yet doubtless to be considered a part of the revelation of Christ and a part of the content of the sealed book. The seventh seal is the last, and yet its opening does not immediately bring the consummation. It ushers in seven angels with trumpets. One by one these sound. Between the sixth and the seventh, as in the last series, there is an episode (10:1–11:13), in the course of which it is solemnly announced that the consummation will be in the days of the seventh angel. But the trumpet of the seventh angel ushers in the vision of the dragon and his embodiments (12:1–14:20). This in turn leads to the vision of the seven bowls (15:1–19:10), and this to the vision of the consummation (19:11–20:15). Then the way has been prepared for the vision of the new heaven and the new earth, which with its outlook over the ages of ages closes the revelation.

This is, in general, the structure of the book. It is not borrowed or copied, but is original with the author, and there is no literary form coined by any writer of ancient or modern times which is more unique than this.

Christ in the midst of the churches forms the first vision; Christ in the midst of the redeemed, the last vision. The five intervening visions are visions of conflict. There is progress from one vision to another, moral and intensive rather than chronological. The judgments grow more and more severe, and at the same time the manifestations of Christ become more glorious. The songs that are heard from the heavenly world are increasingly triumphant in character. The interest of the reader is sustained, yea, heightened, as he passes from vision to vision. The end is again and again postponed, but only that the forces and issues of the intervening history may be brought before us in symbols of increasing majesty and power. No vision could be omitted, no vision could exchange places with any other, without seriously marring the harmony of the whole.

But it is not needful to dwell longer on this point. We may ask now for that element in the symbolism of the Apocalypse which may fairly be said to be the coinage of John's own imagination. This element is very large. To begin with his designations of the Divine Being. He has for God the suggestive name "He who is, and who was, and who is to come" (1:4, 8; 4:8). This expression implies not only the unchangeableness and eternity of God, but also his coming into manifestation. Thus it contains the central idea of the Apocalypse which is the parousia of the Lord. For this reason the third clause of the name is omitted when God is thought of as already come (11:17; 16:5) and he is called simply "He who is and was." Both God the Father and Christ are designated "the Alpha and the Omega" (1:8; 22:13), a new name, though the thought is the same as that in Isa. 44:6: "I am the first and I am the last." Jesus is further called "the Amen" (3:14), a designation natural enough on the lips of the author of the Fourth Gospel who alone represents Jesus as using the repeated particle of assurance, "verily, verily" (amen, amen). The Apocalypse also gives to him the name

'The lion of the tribe of Judah" (5:5). The Holy Spirit is referred to under the symbols of "seven spirits" (1:4; 3:1), "seven torches of fire," and "seven eyes" of Christ (4:5; 5:6).

Passing now from appellations in the narrower sense, we find in the author's descriptions of the Divine Being much that is purely original. Thus he likens the appearance of God to a jasper and a sardius (4:3), these stones probably being used to suggest white and red radiance (21:11; Ezek. 8:2). New is also the author's statement that God is the *temple* in heaven (21:22); and his description of the majesty of God in the judgment scene, where he says that from his face the earth and the heaven fled away (20:11).

Yet more illustrations of the author's originality may be seen in his symbolic descriptions of Christ. He is the one who holds the seven stars in his right hand, and who walks in the midst of the seven golden candles (2:1). He has seven horns and seven eyes (5:6). Twice he is represented as a warrior on a white horse, once with bow in hand and a victor's wreath on his head, and once having on his head many diadems (6:1, 2; 19:11). He has a name which no one else knows (19:12; 3:12.) He is the one who gives the redeemed their song of redemption (15:3). He is the *lamp* of heaven (21:23). His victorious strength as a warrior is set forth in an original manner by giving him the wreath of victory *before* he enters the struggle (6:2), and also by representing him as vanquishing the kings of the earth with their armies without any effort or clash of arms (19:20). His simple word overthrows them.

There is much that is wholly original in the author's references to Satan. Such is his representation of him as a great red dragon (12:3), and his picture of Satan's power in the statement that his tail draws a third of the stars of heaven (12:4). Original with him is the idea of a war in the upper air between Michael and Satan, each supported by his angels (12:7), a war which ends in the casting of Satan and his angels upon the earth (12:9). So his picture of Satan as a dragon emitting a flood of water from its throat in order to destroy the woman (12:15). The author's beast out of the sea is not wholly original; it has a prototype in

Daniel. But his conception of the relation of the beast to Satan is his own. The dragon stands on the shore of the sea to call up the beast (12:18). It then gives to the beast its throne and authority and indestructibility (13:2–3). Through the beast it secures the worship of the whole earth, *i. e.* the worship of all whose names have not been written in the Lamb's book of life (13:4, 8).

The beast out of the earth, having a lamb's horns and a dragon's voice, is an original creation (13:11). So are some of the details of the picture, as, for example, the fact that this beast makes an idol and endows it with intelligence and the power of speech (13:15), also the fact that it causes all the followers of the first beast to have its mark on their right hands or on their foreheads (13:16).

We may notice next that which is original in the author's language of judgment. He coined the symbol "second death" 2:11; 21:8). Synonymous with this, and also original with the. author of the Apocalypse, is the symbol "lake of fire" (19:20) Among the many emblems of temporal judgment several of the most notable are, as far as can be ascertained, the product of John's imagination. A star by the name of wormwood falls on a third of the rivers and fountains of waters, and the consequence is that the water is turned to wormwood (8:11). The fourth angel poured out its bowl of wrath upon the sun, and the result was a burning heat which led men to blaspheme the name of God (16:8, 9). The terrible symbol of the scorpion-locusts and the still more terrible symbol of horses with lion's heads and tails that are serpents,—horses that emit fire and brimstone from their mouths, these are creations of John's imagination, and it may be doubted whether any more forcible materialistic symbols of judgment were ever coined. The locusts come out of the abyss as messengers of Satan (9:11). They have intelligence, and go forth under the leadership of Satan. The horses are innumerable, and they too seem to be connected with the abyss, for they emit brimstone from their mouths, and this in the Apocalypse is associated only with the abode of Satan.

The Apocalypse abounds in original symbols in its descrip-

tions of the glory and blessedness of the victorious disciple of Christ. No portion of Scripture of equal length surpasses it in this respect. Thus the victor is promised authority over the nations (2:26, 27), and shall receive the morning star (2:28). He shall walk with Christ in white robes (3:4), and shall follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth (14:4). He shall be a pillar in the temple of God, abiding as long as the temple itself abides (3:14); he shall also *serve* God day and night in his temple (7:15). He shall stand before the throne with palms in his hands (7:9), and shall sing by the transparent lake (15:2). He shall sit with Christ in His throne (3:21), and have on his forehead the name of God, the name of the new Jerusalem, and the new name of Christ (3:12; 14:1). In this connection may be mentioned the original features in the author's picture of heaven. These are three. The first is that the length, breadth and *height* of the new Jerusalem are equal, the city being thus one vast Holy of Holies (21:16); the second is that God and the Lamb are the temple of this new Jerusalem (21:22); and the third is the transparent lake on whose shores the redeemed stand as they sing the song of Moses and the Lamb (15:2; 4:6).

It remains to notice the original symbols which are employed in the description of the struggle between the followers of Christ and the followers of anti-Christ. Here we have Death on horseback, slaying men, and Hades, also on horseback, receiving the slain (6:7–8). The souls of the martyrs are seen under the altar, —the altar, that is, on which their bodies had been slain (6:9). When the kings of the earth are to be brought together to Har Magedon unto the war of the great day of God, the spirits of the dragon, the beast and the false prophet go forth as *frogs* to deceive them (16:13). The destruction of Babylon is graphically set forth bydescribing the effect of it upon the kings, the merchants and the sailors, who, gathered from near and far, stand at a distance from the city and watch it as it burns (18:9–19). The suppression of Satan's influence is set forth under the figure of Satan bound with a great chain and put into the abyss, whose door was then sealed

Such briefly are the original elements in the symbolism of

the Apocalypse. In estimating their significance it is well to bear in mind that the entire Apocalypse is only about one-ninth as long as Paradise Lost, or one-third as long as Hamlet. Were there no originality in the book outside the passages which have been noticed, the Apocalypse would still rank with the few great products of creative imagination; but, as we shall see, this is not all. The use of Old Testament symbolism in the Apocalypse is everywhere suggestive of an independent and original mind.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By Rev. Professor J. S. Riggs,
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VI. THE JORDAN VALLEY AND THE PEREA.

Geological formation of Palestine.—The head-waters of the Jordan.—The Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.—The plain of Jericho —The modern in contrast with the ancient Jericho.—The Dead Sea and its surroundings.—The district of Perea.—Remarkable and varied scenery of the Land of the Bible.

In order to gain some idea of the formation of the great cleft in which the Jordan flows, imagine the whole space now occupied by the mountains on both sides the river and the valley covered by the waters of the ocean. This, we are told by geologists (see Dawson's *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, Hull's *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*) was the condition in the Cretaceous Age, when the thick limestones of both the Lebanon and Judean hills were formed. Later the cretaceous beds underneath were "bent into folds," and the great limestone formations heaved above the water making the ridges which form the mountains of Western Palestine, on one side, and Eastern on the other, and leaving between them a great fracture which extended north and south for over 350 miles. On the western side of this fracture the earth's crust subsided and between the high mountains the deep hollow of Cœle-Syria, of the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Akaba came into existence. The final form of this cleft was not reached, however, till that change in level which confined the Dead Sea to about its present dimensions and reduced the size of the Gulf of Akaba. Then came the order of sea, river-valley, lake and sources such as we now have them going from south to north. Taken all in all, it is not perhaps extravagant to say of it, as Humboldt once did, that "it is the most remarkable depression on the face of the earth." The

varied character of its lake, river, and plain scenery, the sharp descent of its rocky floor, the majestic forms of its mountain walls, the peculiarities of its climate, and the singular nature of its salt sea, make it full of interest apart from all historic associations. We can best come to these by a study of the physical features of the valley. Leaving out the Sea of Galilee which we have already briefly examined, we can for the sake of definiteness divide the remainder of the valley into three portions, (1) that from the sources of the Jordan to the Sea of Galilee, (2) that from the Sea of Galilee to the broad plain below Kurn Surtâbeh, (3) that of the broad plain itself and the Dead Sea.

Amid the varied and beautiful scenery of the slope of Mt. Hermon the Jordan begins, and its beginnings are in some respects as singular as its course and ending. It leaps into being from the great formations of Hasbeya and Banias and Dan, whose waters join in one stream in the plain of el-Huleh, just above the present lake of Merom. These springs are respectively 1700, 1140, 701 feet above the level of the sea, and out of each gushes a great body of cool, sweet water that hurries away to the plain. Just over us is the massive rock-front of Mt. Hermon whose summit is covered with snow. We are high enough to have all the products of a northern clime, and both Cesarea Philippi and the site of ancient Dan are justly noted for their rare natural positions. Of the latter it used to be said, "it had no want of anything that is in the earth" (Judges 18:10), and the spring that comes out like a river from the western slope of the mound on which the old city stood is said to be the largest single spring in the world. The fountain at Banias, where Greeks, Romans, and Jews alike have left traces of their presence, flows from under a mound which lies in front of a large cavern in the mountain side. This was the grotto of Pan, and Philip the Tetrarch who gave the place the name of Cesarea Philippi beautified the temple which Herod the Great placed by this fountain and grotto. What the fountain is to the region can be inferred from the words of another who describes the scene as it now is: "Everywhere around the ruins is a wild medley of


Caesarea Philippi
Sea of Galilee
Jericho
Dead Sea
Mt. of Olives
Cross section through Jericho

cascades, mulberry trees, fig trees, dashing torrents, festoons of vines, bubbling fountains, reeds and the mingled music of birds and waters." The traveler goes to this favored spot however, not so much because Herod and Philip built temples there, nor because the river begins there, but because the Lord came to it, after the Galilean ministry was virtually over, and there, away from the Pharisees, and amid surroundings almost wholly Gentile, received the confession of Peter which fully declared him. For several days the Lord remained here, talking of the sad issue so soon to come at Jerusalem, and once, at least, he climbed some spur of Hermon, where, in the solemn stillness of its exalted retirement, he was transfigured before them. Usually the modern traveler leaves "the Land" behind him, as from this place he mounts the ridge of Hermon on the way to Damascus, and the last prospect over the Upper Jordan Valley out upon the mountains of Upper Galilee and down toward the lake makes a happy conclusion of all his days of deeply interesting sight-seeing. Our study leads us to turn the other way, and going down through olive groves and oak glades we come to the plain of the waters of Merom, and keeping to the right we pass the marshes and the lake itself, and come to the rocks that hem in the river after it leaves this first lake. We have already made a consid erable descent, for Banias is 1140 feet above the sea, and Merom only 373 feet. The lake of Huleh is about four miles long, and two and three-quarters broad, and the distance from it to the gorge is about two miles. As soon as the river strikes the edge of the narrow cleft between the precipitous hills which bound it on either side it plunges downward in a foaming, seething torrent over a course of about nine miles and descends nearly 900 feet to the level of the Sea of Galilee. For some distance before it reaches the sea it glides with smooth current through the delta it has formed, and passing the site of Bethsaida Julias and the plain, enters the lake. This part of the river has no special biblical interest. The great Damascus road crosses it about two miles below Lake Huleh.

Three times the perilous journey in a boat down the Jordan

from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea has been undertaken, and the interesting account of Lieutenant Lynch, U. S. N., the last who accomplished the task, in 1848, gives us a vivid picture of the sharp turns, the frequent rapids, the dangerous rocks, and precipitous banks which are found all down "the Ghor," as the Arabs call it. The valley differs in width and general character at different points, being for the first thirteen miles below the lake not more than four miles wide, then expanding to a width of over eight miles, which holds until we come to Tell Sakut (Succoth) when it narrows again to about one mile and so continues to the Wady Fârah when it broadens out considerably again, until south of Kurn Surtâbeh it opens into the "Circle" of the Jordan reaching a width of fourteen miles. The great plains are therefore opposite the valley which leads up to Esdraelon and over against the road which leads past Jericho up to Jerusalem. Why should this fertile valley be called Arabah, or desert, and in the New Testament the "Wilderness" (Mark 1 : 4, 5)? Partly because of the heat ; partly because of wild beasts which infested it, and partly because of the reaches of unhealthy soil in it, and the impossibility of irrigating certain portions of it. Speaking of this impossibility and of the trouble of wild beasts calls to mind the actual bed of the river itself. From the hills back of Jericho one can easily trace the course of the river through the plain by the tamarisks and semi-tropical trees that fringe its shore, and these do not stand up clear from the common level of the plain, but are in a depression which, opposite Jericho, is 200 feet deep, and sometimes one mile broad. In such a cut the river finds its way all down the valley and the banks of it are mostly white marl. This is the space the river floods, and amid these trees and tangles of bush and brake wild beasts made their hiding places. This was "the pride of the Jordan," meaning the "luxuriance" of growth along its immediate banks. Upon this level the receding floods left the wreckage of driftwood and overturned trees, and their deposits of mud. And when you come to the river itself, its turbulent muddy current is anything but inviting. This is particularly true of its lower portion. The bathing place of the pilgrims, as we saw it one bright afternoon

in April, was no such quiet inviting spot as pictures have made it, for the reason that pictures can give little idea of the swift muddy current that at the time of harvest overflows the banks and then recedes, leaving behind mud and disorder. Indeed, the whole river compared with the broad, noble streams which we dignify by this appellation is unworthy of the name. In a land, however, which knows only such water-courses as find their troubled way down through mountain gorges it ranks among the greatest.

In the valley down which we have come to the opening of the Jericho plains, there are several places of interest. On the plateau just south of the Jarmuk which drains the Hauran stood Gadara, the chief town of the "country of the Gadarenes." Below, resting on a mound several feet above the level of the river and about opposite the slopes of the Valley of Jezreel, was Pella, to which the Christians fled before the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. At the point where the Jabbok enters the valley is placed Succoth, sacred to the memory of Jacob, and on the site of the modern Teller-Rameh stood the large town of Livias and Julias. "All up the east of the river you come across patches of cultivation, the property of various Bedaween tribes on the highlands to the east."

It is a pleasing view that opens to the traveler who goes "down from Jerusalem to Jericho" as he comes to the edge of the mountains over the plain. A large sweep of valley from the sea to the protruding mountains by Surtâbeh on the north, and across to the hills of Moab on the east, is within the range of vision. What it might be if it were perfectly irrigated and a just government gave protection to those who cultivated it! It is not a good place to live in, for the tropical heats are enervating, but it would nobly respond to diligence in cultivation. As it now is, the dreariness of it but adds to the weariness in crossing it in order to come to the traditional spots on the Jordan, or to go to the shore of the Dead Sea. Over there, near the northern shore of the sea, may have been the sites of Sodom and Gomorrah; right before us is the stretch of the Jordan that "rolled back," and "away," that the host of Israel might come over. But the

point of greatest interest is close to us at the foot of the mountains. Who could recognize in the name of the miserable, filthy village of er-Riha a form of the word Jericho? Such, however, it is, and imagination has something to do to transform the wretched mud village into the stately "City of Palms," that flourished near by in the days of our Lord. Josephus speaks of it as a "divine region," and says that the fountain near by watered a tract "seventy stadia long by twenty broad, covered with beautiful gardens and groves of palms of various species." There seem to have been three distinct sites for the city at different times of her history. Joshua found it near the present fountain of Ain es Sultan; in the time of Christ it was further south toward the Wady Keel and nearer the direct road to Jerusalem. The modern er-Riha commemorates the Jericho of the Crusaders. One only has to remember that Herod lived much in Jericho to realize what kind of a city came suddenly to view as one neared the sharp descent into the valley. Palaces, baths, and theaters reared their stately forms amid the beautiful gardens and palm groves. It was, as one has called it, "the gateway of a province, the emporium for trade, the mistress of a great palm forest, woods of balsam and very rich gardens." Now there is not a trace of it. Back of the city, and forming part of the western wall of the plain is Mount Quarantania, whose summit has been fixed upon as the place of the temptation. It is, of course, a purely traditional site. These very heights back of Jericho have been one part of her weakness. The enervating climate has been the other, and over and over again she became the spoil of the conqueror.

It is a ride of several hours from the site of the ancient city to the Dead Sea, though its blue waters seem very near. As we come to the level of it we are nearly 4000 feet below Jerusalem, and 1290 below the level of the Mediterranean. Add to this the depth of the sea itself at the northeast corner, 1300 feet, and one gets some idea of this stupendous cleft that divides Judea and Moab. The Dead Sea is about fifty-three miles long and has an average width of nine or ten miles. It has no outlet, and that means much. The water escapes only by evaporation, and

either shows itself by a haze over the glassy surface, or in mists that at times gather into clouds which break in terrific storms. The streams which pour into it all carry a bit of salt in solution. Down at the southeastern end a ridge of rock salt five miles long and 300 feet high adds its quantum of salt, and springs in the sea itself help to make the water five times more salty than the ocean and fatal to all life. It is rightly called the Dead Sea There is no body of water like it. Like the mountains of Judea over against the plains of Jericho; the wilderness over against the fertile valleys of Hebron; snowy Hermon over against the plain of Gennesaret, it stands in vivid contrast to the Sea of Galilee whose waters it constantly receives. The rock walls on either shore go up over 2000 feet, and are pierced at intervals by deep gorges. These mountains stand splendidly against the deep blue of the sea itself, and if one will know their fascinating glory, let him from the tower on Olivet watch the sun cast his light upon them toward the time of his sinking behind the western hills. Another has said that the history of this unique desolate sea "begins with the story of Sodom and Gomorrah and ends with the massacre of Massada." It has almost nothing that is happy to tell us. The one incident of the New Testament which brings us near its coast is the shameless murder of John the Baptist, who, according to Josephus, was beheaded in the gloomy fortress of Machærus on the eastern shore.

Such is the variety of scene, of level, and of climate from Banias to Jebel Usdum. The Jordan was the great "divider" as well as the swift "descender." That rift was the real boundary of the western land. It is at your right at every view that you may have toward the east as you go northward from Judea. The high levels on the other side have always been, as it were, "apart." It was more than merely a river crossing to go "over Jordan," and while at times the river has not been the western boundary of the people, yet the sense of the dividing influence of the valley is clear enough in the Scripture.

Inasmuch as our Lord's ministry touched one of these divisions which, though east of the valley, was yet reckoned as one of the divisions of the western side, it will be well for a few

moments to look at Perea. As the name signifies, it is the region "beyond" the Jordan, and it could be used of territory of different limits. It probably extended from the Arnon to the Jarmuk. It was given by Herod to Antipas and was reckoned as with Galilee and contained a Jewish population. One could cross over the Jordan just below the Sea of Galilee and then back again to Jericho and so reach Jerusalem without going through Samaria. Into this region Christ came upon his final departure from Galilee (Matt. 19 : 1 ; Mark 10 : 11).

Such, in brief outline, is the geography of Palestine. One cannot come from journeying up and down through its valleys, and over its plains, without realizing how great is the variety in the small territory which the whole land embraces.

Not only for its central position, but for its own self, it was chosen in the providence of God. Mountain, valley, river, lake and sea ; heights far enough above the sea to have the glory of a snow crown, depressions far enough below the level of the sea to yield the fruits of the tropics ; wildernesses desolate in their barrenness and plains with all variety of products ; springs that give a perpetual outflow of life, and fountains that make rivers, and a lake that called about it a varied activity. All these are reflected in the imagery of the Book whose history is inseparably associated with them, and whose pages in their very settings of truth have something for all lands and climes.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

NOTES ON CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

By Frederick Starr,
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It is purposed in these notes to call attention from time to time to the most important current literature upon anthropological subjects, especially that which bears upon the study of religion. Much of this literature is published where it is not accessible to the general reader, and it will be the especial aim of these summaries to render that material available. The following series includes articles and books appearing within the last six months, July to December, 1894.

J. Walter Fewkes (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, Vol. IV.) presents an important contribution to our knowledge of the famous Snake Dance of the Mokis. The title is "Snake Ceremonials at Wálpi." The ceremony is performed at the Indian towns of Wálpi, Micoñ-în-o-vi, Cûño-pa-vi and Oraibe once in two years. As they do not all observe the same year a "snake dance" takes place annually at one or other of these towns. At each village the "flute ceremony" is celebrated in the year when the snake dance is not. The Snake Ceremony, is probably but a subordinate part of a grand rain ceremonial which is under the direction of the Snake-Antelope Societies—secret religious organizations. Our author undoubtedly gives the most complete account of the whole ceremony ever printed. Like so many Indian ceremonies in that region this lasts nine days, the action for each day varying. Thus on the first day the sacred liquid and the symbolic mosaic of sand are made: the second day sacred prayer sticks are made and consecrated by the singing of sixteen traditional songs; these or similar songs are sung each remaining day of the celebration; on the third day the prayer-sticks are distributed to the gods and the first hunt for snakes is undertaken, this time toward the north; upon the three following days snakes are hunted, the region searched being in the west, south and east in order, one region for each day; on the seventh day a fresh sand painting is constructed, charm liquid and pellets are prepared and initiation into the sacred societies is held; on the eighth day the antelope race, a dramatization of the cosmogonic legend and a public ceremonial upon the plaza when the priesthood use cornstalks and gourds, are the three great features; on the ninth, last day, a dramatization, a ceremonial of the novices, a snake race, a snake washing, and, the snake dance itself,

followed by drinking an emetic and a feast, fill up the day. The next day the priests are purified. Fewkes does not attempt to explain the ceremonial; he simply puts before the student material for study and comparison. Nowhere else is there so painstaking an account of this weird rite. Those who wish to learn how definite and precise barbarous ceremonials are, how full of mystery and symbolism, how complex an outfit of utensils and sacred objects is necessary in them, how importantly and suggestively dramatization of old legends enters into them, will find Dr. Fewkes' essay worthy of careful reading.——— Frederick Starr (*Outlook*, November 3) describes the "Rain Dance at Cochiti." The ceremonial takes place annually upon the Saint's Day—July 14. The article is popular in style but gives in some detail the features of the day's performance which is a strange combination of pagan and Christian observances.———In the same region with these curious Indian worshipers is a stronghold of the "Holy Brotherhood" of Passionists. This consists of white men, Mexicans and probably some Indians, who celebrate each year the passion of Christ. A. M. Darley ("Penitentes of the Southwest") presents documents never before publicly printed perhaps. The brotherhood is far stronger in New Mexico Arizona, Colorado and Northern Mexico than is generally realized. This little book is particularly timely as the past year saw an unusual amount of unusually vigorous celebration. Lummis' description ("Land of Poco Tiempo") of the procession, flagellation and crucifixion at San Mateo in 1891 aroused much interest; this book containing the constitution and by-laws of the order, some of the sacred songs, formulæ, etc. and illustrated with most curious pictures drawn by a Mexican, should increase this interest. The flagellation, the processions, the tortures with cactuses and by dragging almost naked men with ropes over rocky places, and the punishment of renegades—all these and more are described in a straight-forward fashion.

In "The Book of the Dead and Rain Ceremonials" (*American Anthropologist*, July) Ellen Russell Emerson directs attention to many interesting similarities between the ideas and rituals of the old Egyptians and the modern North American Indians. The feather is symbolic of the life-giving power of light with both; the post, surmounted by the head of Anubis, guide in the way, is like the degree post in the initiation ceremonial of the Ojibwa Midewiwin; guard serpents occur in both; fir trees are near to these in Egypt and cedars in America. The serpent, associated with water in Egypt recurs almost everywhere in the Rain Ceremonies of America; the crook in Egypt is associated with the serpent of wind and water and among the Tusayan crooked staffs are used to represent the dead. In the Egyptian pictures live snakes are carried in the ceremonial; so they are in Tusayan. The medicine lodge and the kibva with its *sipapu* may be compared with the Egyptian sacred house. There is in both regions a relation between the dead and rain; in both, water is associated with the beginning of life. After making the comparison from which these resemblances proceed the author recognizes that they need not necessarily point to a community of origin for the two religions. "Man, what-

ever country he occupied, might resort to dramatization, mimicking those forces elemental or animal, which he believes create or contribute to life, this being done by means of symbols and adroit personifications, the universality of these customs becoming the fruitful source of parallel notions." That the Egyptian ceremonials considered, existing among a civilized people, point back to the time when they must have developed among a population in a culture stage akin to or lower than the Indians mentioned, is claimed, and we think justly. The Indians most commonly mentioned in the comparisons are the Ojibwa and the Tusayan Pueblos but the Mexican, Peruvian and Dakotan are called in as occasion requires. Any point established by too general selection of this kind is not strongly established. To compare a single tribe of Americans with the old Egyptians as presented in the "Book of the Dead," would have been sufficiently striking and more logical.

The Museo Arqueologico Nacional at Madrid owns two precious manuscripts of the old Mayas. One of these known as the "Codex Cortesianus" has been recently reproduced in facsimile, both as to form, designs and colors, in commemoration of the Quadri-centennial Exposition held in Spain's capital in 1892. The reproduction of this manuscript has placed hitherto inaccessible material in the hands of American students with the result of a considerable number of papers concerning it. Among these is J. Walter Fewkes' "A Study of Certain Figures in a Maya Codex" (*American Anthropologist*, July). Dr. Fewkes finds in this codex thirty-eight representations of a figure which he calls, with Schellhas, the long-nosed god. By an analysis of these representations and their surroundings he concludes that the figures represent a divinity, masked in a head-dress symbolizing the serpent, representing probably a god of water or rain. An interesting parallel is traced by the author between the symbolism here and that which he found in Tusayan. ——— From the same codex, Saville (*American Anthropologist*, October) draws evidence of the recognition of the sacred year of 260 days. ——— D. G. Brinton briefly discusses in the *Archæologist* (November), "What the Maya Inscriptions Tell About." He shows the codices to be chiefly concerned with time — the sacred year and its relation to other periods — and ceremonials. They reveal a curious mathematics and astronomy pursued, not for themselves, but for the service of religion.

Washington Matthews, "Songs of Sequence of the Navajos" (*Journal of American Folklore*, July–September), considers the songs sung by Shamans in their great religious celebrations. He emphasizes the importance to the Indian mind of accuracy in every word and shows the prodigious exercise of memory apparently demanded; this is still further increased by the fact that frequently the words sung are almost meaningless. He shows that there exists a mnemonic aid in the form of a myth key. — Stephen D. Peet (*American Antiquarian*, July) discusses "Sabaeanism, or Sky Worship in America." He discusses, among others, the following topics: Sabaeanism was prehistoric, not the first religion, the religion of agricultural peoples; the sky, variously

conceived, was filled with divinities, who held the powers of nature as subject to them; peculiar symbolic ceremonies precede the naming of a person; mysterious and secret societies are means to secure heavenly gifts; divination and magic, and special notions concerning the dead. The author says: "orientation was the all important factor in the symbolism of sky worship." The discussions go outside the American field. The points are not clearly made.—In "Transformation Myths" (*American Antiquarian*, September) the same author applies the idea of transformation, the change of gods into men, nature powers, and objects of all kinds—to the explanation of various carved and painted figures made by our aborigines.

The Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology held at the World's Columbian Exposition has recently appeared and for the convenience of students a list of the more important papers relative to religious subjects found therein is here presented: "Orientation," A. L. Lewis; "Secret Societies and Sacred Mysteries," Stephen D. Peet; "Ritual regarded as the Dramatization of Myth", W. W. Newell; "Some Illustrations of the Connection between Myth and Ceremonial," W. Matthews; "The Scope and Method of the Historical Study of Religions," Morris Jastrow, Jr.; "An Ancient Egyptian Rite Illustrating a Phase of Primitive Thought," Sara G. Stevenson; "A Chapter of Zuñi Mythology," Matilda C. Stevenson; "Museum Collections to Illustrate Religious History and Ceremonials," Cyrus Adler. Some of these are of great importance. Jastrow and Adler both strike the matter of museums of religious objects. The former believes that a museum of religious history should comprise three sections, the general, the special, and the comparative. In the first he would present diagrams illustrating the divisions of the subject, the sequence, geographical distribution and main elements of religions, and the characteristic traits of the races of mankind; in the second section there should be a representation by objects and otherwise of the religious life of primitive man and of the religions of civilization; in the last, duplicates of objects shown in the second but arranged to bring out points by comparison, and charts. Adler in this same direction urges scientific method in such museums and presents an historic sketch of the public museums and collections of religious objects and of the exhibition of such as Expositions of an international kind. In two appendices examples of classification of religious objects are given.

In *Melusine* (July-August) Henri Gaidoz presents one of his remarkable studies in folk-belief. The article is entitled "Saint Eloi" and its key-note is struck in the following passage:

> "Rien ne se perd dans l'histoire; et quand une religion en remplace une autre, la nouvelle absorbe et s'approprie l'ancienne; les anciennes croyances et les anciennes pratiques se continuent avec une étiquette nouvelle, et cette étiquette est pour elles un renouvellement de force et de durée; elles sont nees pour ainsi une seconde fois."

The saint is historically a goldsmith, who became a confidential minister to Dagobert. The historic character becomes confounded with an ancient

cult hero and assumes his characters. Then, as patron of all smiths his statue is revered by the mediaeval societies or guilds of metal workers; becoming pre-eminently the patron saint of blacksmiths and himself a blacksmith working miracles, pilgrimages are made to his shrine and processions of sick horses journey to his chapels. In this phase carried into Italy the sainted blacksmith assumes new characters, stealing them of course from some forgotten patron saint, and figures in encounters with the devil masquerading as a woman. The article is well worth reading.

In *Am Urquell* papers of interest and often of importance relative to the Jews are constantly appearing. In the numbers since July are several of this kind. The titles show their character and range; "Zur Volkskunde der Juden Böhmens," Ethnographie der ostgalischen Juden," "Volkskunde palästinischer Juden," "Reime galizischen Judenkinder."

The *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (Aug.–Nov.) devotes seventy pages of close print to a translation of the second part of Mikhailovski's *Shamanstvo*, under the title of "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia." It aims to give a simple "characterization of Shamanism in Russia in order to compare it with similar institutions in other lands.' The study is masterly. The distribution of Shamanism in Siberia is traced from tribe to tribe. Although so far as our information goes it varies from place to place, the fundamental principles remain the same. Everywhere the Shaman is a marvel. He is seen to summon spirits, to assume and to transfer disease, to unbind himself when tied with ropes; he falls into trances, visits the lower world in search of souls of the sick, ascends into the highest heaven, is clairvoyant and prophetic. So much crops out in the attempt to trace his distribution. The author now proceeds to study particular points of interest. The paraphernalia of the Shaman deserves attention. His tambourine is at once a summoner of spirits and a steed upon which the Shaman mounts to heaven; covered with strange pictures it possesses in itself great spirit power. The Shaman's dress, composed usually of at least four elements,—an outer garment with the strangest objects hung upon it, mask for the face, breast plate of metal, hat—is peculiar and assists in spirit dealings. It really serves a three-fold purpose—impressing spectators and marking off the officiating Shaman from other men, agitating bystanders as it is shaken in the dance and frenzy by its wearer, bringing by its mysterious symbolism the Shaman into direct communication with the spirits. The mode of becoming a Shaman is carefully described—the signs by which his calling is made sure, the preliminary steps, the course of instruction under direction of an older Shaman, the final ceremonial initiation. The functions and the doings of the Shaman as mediator, healer, priest, and wizard are traced. The position of the Shaman among men, the question of their belief in him and of his belief in himself are discussed. His burial and the worship of him after death by others is narrated. So much in Siberia. Nowhere in European Russia does Shamanism fully flourish now, but there are traces and survivals, at times very plain and

striking, here and there. These are fully described among the Samoyeds, Lopars (Norway and Sweden), Votyaks, Cheremises and Chuvashes, Mordvins, Kirghizes. In closing the author says: "Throughout the vast extent of the Russian Empire, from Behring's Strait to the borders of the Scandinavian Peninsula, among the multitudinous tribes preserving remains of their former heathen beliefs, we find in greater or less degree Shamanistic phenomena. Despite the variety of races and the enormous distances that separate them, the phenomena which we class under the general name of Shamanism are found repeated with marvelous regularity. In order to throw light on this regularity in a scientific manner, and explain more clearly the performances of the Shamans of Siberia and European Russia, we must glance at the analogous institutions existing on that continent which is separated from Asia by Behrings Strait." It is to be hoped that the *Journal* may translate this author's further work; the Shamanism of the Tlingits and their neighbors is very interesting.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THEOLOGICAL AIMS AND PROGRESS. AN ADDRESS TO THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS. By Rev. Professor J. S. BANKS, in the *Thinker* for November, 1894.

While the present age is often said to be unfavorable to theological study a century that has produced such works as Flint's *Theism*, Orr's *Christian View*, Bruce's *Humiliation of Christ*, Fairbairn's *Christ's Place in Modern Theology*, and the Bampton Lectures of Liddon, Sanday, and Gore can hardly be called a wilderness.

Theology must be separated from religion, but both are essential. There is a science of the religious as well as of other life, and that, too, of necessity. Every man who worships God as Father, Son, and Spirit as distinct and yet one, has a doctrine of the Trinity. Dogmas are human interpretations of God's dealings. They therefore are subject to revision in the light of increased knowledge. Theology is accordingly not unprogressive. It has, in fact, always shown itself responsive to the new thought of the day. From the days of the early alliance of the church with Greek philosophy, through the Middle Ages and Reformation, down to the present recognition of development in the teachings of the Scriptures, theology has always kept within the influence of extra-ecclesiastical thought.

Especially is the theology of today marked by the recognition of the fact that revelation was gradual. Sometimes this leads to extremes, but this should not lead to its condemnation. As in the field of physical science there are Christian evolutionists, so in the sphere of biblical criticism are there Christian evolutionists. In the recognition of this development do we see the superiority of later biblical teachings, as well as the best explanation of the moral difficulties of the Old Testament.

The effect of new discoveries is in the main to confirm old beliefs. New methods, in the main, do the same—as, for example, the latest studies in the canon. The new attitude towards miracles and prophecy contributes greatly to Christian faith. Miracles are no longer the mere credentials of revelation, but a part of it. Prophecy is no longer regarded as isolated, limited merely to prediction and its fulfillment, but is seen to pervade all Scripture.

Another new point of view of theology makes it Christocentric, *i. e.*, treats it from the doctrine and work of Christ as its center. In some instances this view would make Christ supersede the Scriptures. But this is untenable. The Christocentric treatment is possible only on the basis of Scripture. To

the dilemma, "Christ *or* Scripture," we oppose the conjunction, "Christ *and* Scripture."

A kindred tendency today is to magnify the Incarnation. In this there is nothing suspicious as long as it be not at the expense of the doctrine of the atonement. Many eminent writers, notably Westcott and Dorner, make the Incarnation independent of the Atonement. But while it is possible that the Reformation laid undue stress on the doctrine of sacrifice and redemption, and while we are thankful for the increased significance given to the Incarnation, it is even more necessary than ever today to maintain an objective atonement for sin. And here our day has so admirably distinguished between the fact and the theories of the atonement that it appears very possible, that we have too exclusively pressed the forensic side of the doctrine. Righteousness must not be severed from love.

Further we note that the ruling ideas of modern thought in many ways directly favor Christian doctrine. Thus miracles are no longer ruled out as impossible; and the unity of communities and the race is a principle largely recognized in science as well as in Scripture and theology.

For the young student of theology the mastery of these things is necessary: of Scripture, and therefore of the language of the Scripture; of Latin, as the language of the great theologians; of philosophy, which is vitally connected with theology. And above all should he, as a preacher, be absolute master of his own subject, as the source of fervor and the ground of conviction.

This article is an exceedingly fair outline of the characteristics of modern theological thought. Its positions are at once conservative and appreciative of the positive results of modern scholarship. The time is rapidly passing when such results are to be laughed out of court, or answered by some dilemma or parallel. The author is especially happy in his perception of the fact that the new criticism of the Scriptures tends to confirm all essential faith at the same time it clears away unessential traditions. S. M.

THE NEW SYRIAC GOSPELS. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, in the *Contemporary Review*, for November, 1894.

Examination shows that this codex, discovered by Mrs. Lewis in the convent at Mount Sinai in the spring of 1892, is closely connected with the Syriac version published by Cureton in 1859. But it is certainly an older text, and one worthy of the closest examination.

In point of omissions the MS. is important in that it corroborates the omissions in the earliest texts of such passages as John 7:53–8:11 (the adulteress passage), and the last twelve verses of Mark. In general it favors the shorter readings, being especially lacking in such passages as are generally held to be interpolations. In general, too, its readings are those of the best Greek uncials.

One or two additions should be noticed. Matt. 27:16 reads: "Which will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Bar-Abba, or Jesus that is called Christ?" In John 11:39 the MS. adds to the command by Jesus to take away the stone this question of Martha: "Why are they taking away the stone?"

But by far the most original feature of the MS. is its readings in the first chapter of Matthew. Thus Matt. 1:16: "Jacob begat Joseph; *Joseph* (to whom was espoused the Virgin Mary) *begat Jesus* who is called Christ."

1:18: Now the birth of Christ was on this wise: When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, when they had not come together, she was found with child from the Holy Ghost.

1:21: *She shall bear thee* a son, etc.

1:25: *She bare him a son* and *he called* his name Jesus.

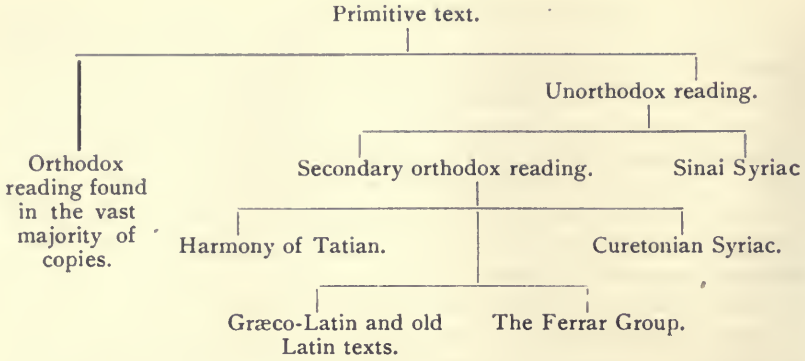
Do these readings represent the Gospel in the process of forming the final orthodox text, or do they show the contamination of the primitive text? Evidently the question is of great importance to theology, but it must be settled by the impartial processes of textual criticism.

1. The novel reading in Matt. 1:16 is not solitary in the MS., but is one of a series of readings, all betraying a similar tendency, and probably the same hand.

The Curetonian text of these passages ("To whom betrothed the Virgin Mary bare Jesus who is called Christ") is evidently an emendation in the service of orthodoxy. The existence of a text similar to this of the Sinaitic Syriac MS. is, further, at least suggested by the opposition of Chrysostom to similar readings.

2. This series of readings was in the line of ancestry of a great variety of MSS.

This is seen by the diffusion of the secondary readings they have provoked. Thus in the Tatian Harmony occurs the phrase, "He was living with her in purity." Whether the Harmony was based on the first Syriac Gospel, or *vice versa*, it is difficult to deny that the Syriac version, either at its source or near to the same, was in the form preserved in our MS. The reformed Curetonian reading is also approximated in the Ferrar group of Greek MSS. It was also current in the old Latin, and in the Armenian. Thus it is evident that in very early times there were two branches of text, one the orthodox, which we know by the accepted and almost universal Greek tradition; the other, a non-Catholic text in which Joseph was represented as the husband of Mary in a different sense from the Catholic acceptation. This line of unorthodox tradition again divides into two, one of which carries a reformed text (*e. g.*, the Curetonian), and the other which conserves the non-Catholic text (*e. g.*, the present MS.). To the secondary orthodox side belongs a large number of texts that bear the trace of reformation from unorthodoxy. This diagram may make this clearer:



3. This divergence in the primitive evangelical tradition corresponds in its first stage with a divergence of opinion in the primitive church.

The genealogies preserved in the canonical Gospels were compiled to confirm existing opinions, rather than to produce beliefs. It is quite possible that every school of thought, Christian or Judæo-Christian, had its Book of Generations. Indeed, we find historical traces of opinions concerning our Lord's origin other than those of the Catholic faith. These are chiefly: (*a*) He was the son of Joseph and Mary without any suggestion that his birth was doubtful or unusual (Cerinthus, Carpocrates and the Adoptionists generally). (*b*) The scandalous story that Jesus was the son of Mary by some unknown person, said to be a soldier named Panther (Talmud). This view, in which the term Panther is probably an anagram of Parthenos, supplies second-century evidence for the currency and acceptance of the doctrine of the Partheneity of Mary. This also appears from the denial by Cerinthus of the virgin birth as an impossibility.

But this does not prove that the doctrine was universally held. The Adoptionists (*i. e.*, those who held that the divine nature came upon Jesus at his baptism and not at his birth), certainly rejected it. Now, as we know from Epiphanius that Cerinthus and Carpocrates attempted to prove from their Gospel of Matthew that Christ was of the seed of Joseph and Mary, the present MS. ought to be described as an Adoptionist MS., or at least as a MS. colored with Adoptionist views. This conclusion is supported by further emphasis of such views in a passage containing variant reading of John 1:34, "I saw and bare record that this is the Chosen of God." This division of the early church over the question of the Incarnation is further illustrated by the controversies between the two parties, in which the Old Testament was made to support both positions.

4. Which are the more genuine readings—those of the MS. or those of the orthodox Greek text?

Plausible arguments based upon the wide dispersion of similar readings may be adduced to favor the genuineness of the readings of the MS. But

they are overbalanced by the probabilities that the ancestor of the Ferrar group of MSS. was influenced by a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, and that the same thing is true of the Tatian Harmony and the old Latin texts. Thus the Cerinthian readings (*e. g.*, those contained in this MS.), are behind the whole body of "Western" texts.

The arguments in favor of a later origin for these readings than that of the orthodox Greek text are: (*a*) The late term Virgin Mary; (*b*) the inconsistency of the MS. in its retention of Matt. 1:18, and the incident of the angel. We should have to reduce the Infancy section to shreds before it would satisfy an Adoptionist hypothesis.

It appears, then, that the writer of this MS. is not the original composer of the text, but some later person, very near in date to the first hand, who has attempted to make the story non-miraculous by a series of inadequate incisions and excisions in an already existing text.

In a communication to the *Academy* of November 17, Fred C. Conybeare rejects both this conclusion of Professor Harris, and its opposite. He argues that the MS. does not represent an original orthodox text being hereticized, because: (1) the genealogy finds its only logical conclusion in the form given in v. 16; (2) the genealogy so devised cannot be a later addition as is seen by a comparison of vv. 18 sq. with v. 1; (3) the idiosyncrasies of the MS. were once a part of a widely diffused and established text; (4) a heretic seeking to produce a naturalistic text would not have left v. 19 at least. On the other hand the MS. does not represent an original heretical text in the process of becoming orthodox, for (1) what orthodox person would have left in vv. 16, 21, 25? and (2) if the earliest account was naturalistic, how can we account for vv. 18–20, 22 and 23. He, therefore, attempts a mediating view by no means based on textual criticism and but imperfectly defining his position in regard to the age of the text. This view is, (1) the birth of Jesus is here described in accordance with the belief of Philo that the Holy Spirit was the giver of the soul or reason of all children, the flesh being the result of natural processes; (2) some overzealous, carnally-minded person introduced vv. 19, 20 as a gloss; (3) the expression in v. 16 the Virgin Mary (or Mary the Virgin) is an early term, and springs from the custom in Philo's time, in the Church of Smyrna A. D. 110, in the churches of Alexandria and Carthage A. D. 190, of calling widows who did not remarry but lived to God, "virgins."

Most persons will be cautious in accepting this clever method of clearing away the difficulty, especially as it is so thoroughly based upon the assumption that the usage of Philo is a sufficient explanation of difficulties in the synoptic history. An even more cogent objection to the acceptance of the text of the MS. as that of the primitive Gospel is the fact that such a view presupposes a history of the text entirely unsupported by any manuscript evidence. The only relevant facts are those mentioned by Professor Harris, for which his theory amply accounts. Mr. Conybeare is so under the influence of his purely subjective theory that it does not apparently occur to him to suggest such a history.

Another and quite as ingenious theory is contained in a communciation from F. P. Badham in the same number of the *Academy*. Mr. Badham takes Professor

Harris sharply to task for believing that the new MS. contains a perversion of an originally orthodox text, maintaining that no heretic would so flagrantly stultify himself as to leave in v. 18. He himself sees in the new readings only a sharper presentation of the difficulties long recognized in the received text, but which, as he has pointed out in his *Formation of the Gospels*, largely disappear when the Matthæan genealogy is not separated from the Virgin-birth, and the corresponding passage in Luke from the Annunication passage. Thus, according to this view, the author of the first chapter of Matthew held that Jesus was the son of Joseph and of Mary, only that the relation between the two parents was "abnormal," and "the instrumentality of Joseph, unconscious,"—while at the same time "the instrumentality of the Virgin was unconscious too." The obscuration of Joseph is due to his early death.

It will probably not require long thought to recognize the difficulty in the position of Mr. Badham, wholly apart from his subjective attitude as a critic of the text. Both his suggestions and those of Mr. Conybeare deserve consideration, but illustrate the difficulties in reconciling a naturalistic account of the event with the received tex in Matthew and Luke. While the matter of the Infancy passages is a perplexing one —especially in the apparent ignorance of their existence on the part of other writers of the New Testament—the thorough-going, objective criticism of Professor Harris seems to make it certain that the oldest form of the story thus far received is not that of the new MS. but that of the received text. Until an older and variant text is discovered the problem is not one of textual criticism but of exegetical presupposition. S. M.

Notes and Opinions.

The Power to Forgive Sin, John 20:22, 23.—This passage, and the presumably parallel ones in Matt. 16:19; 18:18, have not yet received an interpretation which sets at rest the matter presented by them. The Roman Catholic interpretation takes the passages literally, according to the meaning which they bear at first reading, understanding that the actual power to forgive sin was delegated by Christ to his apostles and their official successors. The Protestant interpretation gives a less perspicuous, figurative meaning to the words, namely, that the apostles did not receive a delegated power to forgive sin, but merely received the authority to declare that all who repented and believed in Christ were forgiven. Now there is a very wide and essential difference between the two. The Roman Catholic interpretation has the advantage of being what one would naturally understand by a first reading of the words, while the Protestant interpretation is much less clear and direct, having the appearance of being forced upon the passage in a dogmatic interest, and robbing it of the vital and explicit teaching which it seems to bear. Professor W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., discusses the problem afresh in the *Thinker* for October. He adopts the current Protestant view that it is not forgiveness and retention of sins in the absolute sense that it is intended, for (1) that prerogative is God's alone, (2) we never read of the apostles actually forgiving sin, (3) in the case of Peter versus Simon Magus (Acts 8:22) Peter puts the responsibility of forgiveness upon God. He thinks therefore that the apostles were only authorized to declare sins forgiven by God according to the provisions and conditions of the Gospel. But he adds the idea that "men were thus brought up, through the instrumentality of the apostles, so close to the Saviour that they *must* either accept or reject him. . . . The decision lay with the hearers, but the act that compelled the choice was the act of the apostles (cf. 2 Cor. 2:14–16). . . . So close was the connection of the apostles with the forgiving or retaining of sin as to justify the language used by the Lord." Well, perhaps so, and perhaps loyalty to Protestantism requires us to think so, but such an interpretation makes a very insipid and commonplace affair of statements of Jesus which seem from their plain meaning and connection to have a supreme and special import. Undoubtedly there are difficulties with taking the statements at their face value, but the current way of getting around those difficulties does not seem to deal fairly with the words of Christ as they have come down to us.

The Second Coming of Christ according to the Johannine Writings.—This is the subject of the October installment of Professor Beet's interesting series of articles which have been recently appearing in the *Expositor*. In the fourth

Gospel the great passage is 5:25–29, where "Christ puts in close juxtaposition two very different resurrections, each ushered in by his own voice, a spiritual resurrection in which those who accept the Gospel enter at once into spiritual life, and a resurrection at the last day when all the bodies of men laid in the grave will go forth, to life or to judgment, according to their works." In 6:39, 40, 44, Christ says he will "at the last day" raise those who now believe in him and who thus already have eternal life. See also 11:24; 21:22. This mention of the last day carries forward the resurrection of the just to the close of the present order of things. So far there is agreement among all the New Testament writers. But John 14:18–20; 16:16, 22, 23, 26 seem to speak of only a brief separation and a speedy return of Christ to his disciples. "These words, in their full sense, refer evidently to the gift of the Spirit promised so conspicuously in 14:16, 17; 16:13–15, immediately before the words quoted above. And they were abundantly fulfilled in the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. On that Day and in that Spirit Christ entered into a fellowship with his disciples far closer than that which they had enjoyed during his life on earth; and in this sense returned to them after the separation caused by his death. We have here an inward and spiritual coming of Christ. . . . The fulfillment of the promise before us began in Christ's appearance to his disciples on the day of his resurrection, and was completed in the gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. To this latter refers probably the phrase 'in that day.' The spiritual return was a real anticipation of the bodily return for which his disciples were eagerly waiting." According to the First Epistle of John (2:18) "the Christian dispensation, which in one sense is the beginning of a new and glorious era of eternal life, in another aspect is the last portion of the present order of things."

The Book of Revelation (1:7; 3:11; 22:20) teaches the visible and speedy return of the Lord. Chapter 20, which is supposed by many to teach a two-fold resurrection, is by Professor Beet interpreted in accordance with John 5:25–29. The "first resurrection," therefore, of Rev. 20:4–6, in which only the saints partake, is not a resurrection of the bodies of the saints at the beginning of the thousand years, but it is simply a reigning with Christ (*where* they will reign is not said, presumably in heaven where Christ sits at the right hand of God, not on the earth) in the spiritual resurrection life which they obtained when they became Christ's disciples, according to the teaching of the Fourth Gospel. The "second resurrection" of Rev. 20:7–15 is the universal bodily resurrection to judgment at the end of the present world age. The binding and loosing of Satan Professor Beet understands to mean that "the earlier victories of the Gospel will be followed by a removal, through an extraordinary manifestation of divine power, of the hindrances which the god of this world has been permitted to put in the way of its further progress." This will be followed by an apostasy (Rev. 20:8–10) and "Christ at his coming will find the world in deep sin, and to many who expect him not, his coming will be sudden destruction.

In the November number Professor Beet shows at length the objections to Millenarianism which arise when its interpretations of Rev. 20 are examined in comparison with the teachings of the other New Testament writings. For instance, the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 24:29; Mark 13:24, 25) predict a dissolution of nature at the time of Christ's return, and Revelation (6:12–17; 20:7–11) announces such a dissolution after the millenium. Christ's return cannot therefore be before the millenium, taking for granted as our author does that there can be no conflict between the views in the Synoptic Gospels and the Revelation. Again, the pre-millenial return of Christ is impossible because according to Matt. 25:31–46 the final judgment and separation of good and bad take place immediately upon his return, leaving no period of "a thousand years" between the two events. The same contemporaneousness of the resurrection and judgment of both good and bad is clear from John 5:28, 29. Paul's teaching does not admit the view of an earlier resurrection of the righteous, cf. 1 Thess. 4:16; 1 Cor. 15:23. Yet the two bodily comings of Christ, and the two bodily resurrections of men, first the righteous, and later the wicked, are essential elements of Millenarian doctrine. Throughout the New Testament we find no hint of these things. The only evidence which can be adduced for a pre-millenial advent of Christ is in Rev. 19:11, and for "a first resurrection" in Rev. 20:6. And these things can be well interpreted in a spiritual rather than a physical manner. "We are asked to modify and transform the abundant and various and harmonious teaching of the New Testament about the second coming of Christ in deference to an exposition of seventeen verses of the most mysterious and difficult book in the Bible. Even if this exposition were indisputable, we might fairly ask whether it is safe to throw into confusion, for such a reason, the plain teaching of the New Testament. But the exposition which is made to bear the burden of the issues so great is far from certain, or rather, is in itself improbable."

The Significance of the Living Christ for Justification, according to Paul.—A careful study of this subject was published recently in Germany, the author being Lic. G. Schräder. His conclusion, after a consideration of current views upon the subject and a thorough investigation of the Pauline teachings, is that Paul does not base the condition of the gracious activity of God, by which he declares a sinner to be justified, on any historical work of Christ as such, especially not on any event in the history of Christ, nor on the whole course of his earthly life, but on the superhistorical Jesus Christ himself, as he has manifested himself for the salvation of man in his life, death and resurrection.

The Epistle to the Romans.—As an introduction to the study of the theology of this Epistle, Rev. A. C. Headlam, in the *Expository Times* for November, treats of the usual preliminary questions. He regards it as Paul's, and as "representing substantially the original letter as it came from the hands of the apostle," that is, he does not find the arguments conclusive against the integrity of the book. It was written from Corinth toward the end of the year

58 A. D. As to the question whether the persons to whom the Epistle was addressed were mainly Jewish or mainly Gentile Christians, he thinks the main body of the Epistle probably does not throw any light, because (1) he identifies himself with the class in the audience to whom his remarks for the moment apply, (2) the Epistle is very general in its scope, (3) in chaps. 12–14 he is not dealing with the circumstances of the Roman Church, but is laying down great moral principles which he illustrates by specific cases, (4) the letter was suggested by Paul's own experience among the churches generally, and there is nothing to show that he had any special and official knowledge of the Roman Church. What can we discover from the Acts and from the Epistle itself regarding the church at Rome? That Christianity had not been preached there officially. Paul had never worked there (Rom. 15:22–24), nor had any other leader of the apostolic body (Rom. 15:20), and when Paul arrived in that city the Jews knew little about Christianity (Acts 28:17–23). The Gospel must have come to Rome through those who, having been converted elsewhere, drifted for various reasons to Rome, which was then the great metropolis. These converts, whether of Jewish or Gentile origin, had already become separated from the synagogue, wherefore the ignorance which is referred to in the Acts passage. There was probably no fully organized church in Rome at the time Paul wrote the Epistle. With many of the persons addressed he was already acquainted through previous relations elsewhere. His summary of the matter is this: "The Epistle to the Romans does not arise out of the special needs of the community to which it was addressed; it arises out of the circumstances of the church at large, and St. Paul, impelled by various motives, writes a formal treatise on those parts of the Christian religion which were now under discussion, to a church already rapidly growing in numbers, already getting its hold on the households of some of the great families of the city, but without as yet having had the benefit of authorized and formal teaching from a member of the apostolic body. To these people he writes and, as we shall see, gives an account of what he calls "The Gospel." This, as we shall find, is not a detailed account of Christianity as a whole. St. Paul assumes a knowledge of its primary facts. He deals with it rather in as far as it is the "good news" coming to each individual, and in so far as there was doubt or discussion about it. St. Paul deals in fact with the questions of the times, but he does not deal with them in a shallow or unmeaning way. He discourses on them in relation to the broad principles of Christian life, and so he appeals to us as he appeals to them."

Sources of the Synoptic Gospels.—Dr. P. J. Gloag reaches the conclusion of his study of the Synoptic Problem in the December number of the *Thinker*. Two things seem to him to be so generally agreed upon by critics that they may be regarded as settled: (1) the priority of the canonical Gospel of Mark, or at least a document closely resembling it; with a great probability that the first and third evangelists were acquainted with and used it; (2) there was a collection or collections of the sayings of Jesus, partly oral and partly written

formed before the writing of any of the Synoptic Gospels. "It was most natural, indeed almost inevitable, that the apostles and early Christians would treasure up the sayings of Christ as of inestimable value. These sayings would often be repeated by them in their public assemblies, become indelibly fixed in their memories, and reduced to writing. . . . . Different collections of the sayings of Christ would be made in different localities for the use of different churches. The more Christianity was diffused, the greater would be the number and the variety of those evangelical fragments. They would be written, some in Aramaic, for the use of the Hebrew converts in Palestine, and some in Greek, for the Hellenistic converts. It is also possible that they might have been revised by the apostles and the immediate followers of our Lord. Such collections of the sayings of Christ, both in Aramaic and in Greek, must have been used by all three evangelists in the composition of their Gospels." To the objection that no mention is made by the early Fathers of such collections, it is replied that their existence was inevitable, not that there was any single authorized document containing the sayings of Christ, but only that fragmentary writings or detached narratives were dispersed through the churches, that a careful selection of them was made by the evangelists, and that their disappearance is accounted for by their incorporation into our Gospels.

Dr. Gloag dissents from what is at present the best opinion regarding the canonical Matthew, that it is a recension in Greek by an unknown disciple from an earlier Aramaic Gospel by the apostle Matthew. He thinks we have it exactly as Matthew wrote it. He agrees, however, that it is a compilation of a number of separate documents, and that in all probability Matthew made a free use of the previously written Gospel of Mark. As to the sources of the Gospel of Mark, he admits an intimate connection between this gospel and the preaching of Peter, as attested by the Fathers, but not to the extent of supposing either that Mark wrote his Gospel according to the dictation of Peter, or that it contains a mere repetition of Peter's preaching. Mark collected notes of that preaching, and from them constructed his Gospel. But he had also another source of material in the general oral tradition of the church. Luke had for the preparation of his Gospel two sources of information (cf. Luke 1 : 1–4), oral tradition and written documents. He had had peculiar advantages, by his two years' companionship with Paul while the latter was imprisoned at Cæsarea, for learning from the original apostles and actual followers of Christ what was known of the deeds and sayings of their Master. He had also many written narratives, more or less fragmentary, from which he drew material. One document in particular he had which the other evangelists did not, that containing the section Luke 9 : 51–18 : 14, the so-called Peræan material. These fragments Luke would work freely into his narrative. He thinks it quite probable that Luke's Gospel is to a certain extent dependent on that of Mark, and improbable that it sustains any such relation to the Gospel of Matthew.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters—The following topics, to be used at Chapter meetings during November, are suggested. Care should be taken to select such sub jects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme:

1. A comparison of the preaching of Jesus and John the Baptist, (*a*) as to subject matter, (*b*) as to manner.

2. The Galilean cities of Nazareth and Capernaum.

3. Some possible reasons for Christ's selection of Galilee as a field of work.

4. A synagogue service. Describe it and picture the scene of the "rejection at Nazareth."

5. Christ's miracles of physical healing in the first and second periods of the Galilean ministry.

(1) The attitude of mind of those seeking to be healed.

(2) Christ's recorded motives in healing them.

(3) The method of healing.

(4) The results upon the patient and upon the spectators.

(5) The several charges to secrecy.

6. Did spiritual healing always accompany the physical healing? If so, what was the relation of the two, in time and as respects cause and effect?

7. The paralytic borne of four,—the house; the scene; the act of healing; the effect upon the beholders; the spirit manifested by the Scribes who were present.

8. Christ's attitude toward the social life of his time.

9. The Sabbath question,—its rise, and the reasons for its continued prominence.

10. The choosing of the twelve, their previous relations with Jesus; the purpose for which they were chosen; the reason why a small body of disciples was thus commissioned rather than all the disciples.

11. The ideal of Christian character, and the ideal of Christian living as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount.

12. Christ's ideal of righteousness *vs.* the righteousness of the Pharisees.

13. The circumstances attending the raising of the widow's son and of Jairus' daughter.

14. The significance of Jesus' answer to the messengers from John the Baptist.

15. Demoniacal possession: (*a*) its characteristics, (*b*) Jesus' methods of dealing with it, (*c*) the attitude of the evil spirits toward him.

16. Jesus' reasons for teaching in parables as stated or implied in the gospels.

17. The teachings concerning the Kingdom of Heaven contained in the "parables by the sea."

18. Formulate the charges made by the Scribes and Pharisees against Jesus, and the counter charges made by Jesus up to the close of the second period of the Galilean ministry.

19. The permanent principles embodied in Jesus' address to his apostles before sending them out to preach and to heal.

20. The death of John the Baptist as a commentary upon his life.

21. The miracle of the feeding of the five thousand and the resulting crisis.

22. The Bread of Life discourse from the standpoint of the listener of that time.

23. Jesus' position as to friends and foes at the end of this period.

24. A study of Matthew's quotations from the Old Testament.

25. The Map Drill should be continued from week to week.

For the convenience of those commencing the reading late the division of work for the year is given below:

October: Seidel—*In the Time of Jesus*, pp. 1–93, Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1–138; BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine, (August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine. *November;* Seidel—*In the Time of Jesus*, pp. 93–192; Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 138–295; BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials, Geography of Palestine. *December: Harmony*—Parts I., II., III.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1–149; BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine. *January: Harmony*—Parts IV. and V.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149–298; BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Teachings of Jesus, I. *February: Harmony*—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299–402; BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Teachings of Jesus, II. *March: Harmony*—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403–491; BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Teachings of Jesus, III. *April: Harmony* Part VIII; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493–776; BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV. *May: Harmony*—Part IX. Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777–861; Bushnell—*Character of Jesus;* BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V. *June:* Brooks—*Influence of Jesus;* BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

PRIZE EXAMINATIONS IN HEBREW, NEW TESTAMENT GREEK, AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE, OPEN TO COLLEGE MEN AND WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Conditions of Entrance. No fee is required for any of these examinations.— The examinations in Hebrew and New Testament Greek are open to all students entering the first year class in a Theological Seminary in the Autumn of 1895, provided such students are college men or women whose graduation took place not earlier than June, 1894.

The examination in the English Bible is open to all college students in the Junior and Senior years of the course.

Application must be made on the official blank which will be provided by the Institute to all persons wishing to enter. [1] The signature of a member of the Faculty of the institution with which the student is connected when making application for the examination is required.

Dates.— The examinations in Hebrew and New Testament Greek will take place *October 10, 1895*, in whatever institution the candidate or candidates may be located.

The examination in the English Bible will take place *June 1, 1895*, in all colleges in which there may be one or more candidates.

Enrollment for the examinations in Hebrew and New Testament Greek should be made before April 1, 1895. Candidates will be accepted, however, as late as July 1, or even later if sufficient excuse for the delay is presented.

Enrollment for the examination in the English Bible should be made at once. Candidates cannot be accepted later than April 1.

The prizes for the Hebrew and New Testament Greek will be awarded December 1, 1895, and for the English Bible October 1, 1895.

Prizes.—The prizes to be awarded in these examinations are as follows:

1. $100.00 for the best paper in Hebrew.
2. $50.00 for the second best paper in Hebrew.
3. $100.00 for the best paper in New Testament Greek.
4. $50.00 for the second best paper in New Testament Greek.
5. $100.00 for the best paper in the English Bible.
6. $50.00 for the second best paper in the English Bible.

The name of the successful contestants, and of the institutions with which they are connected, will be published in the secular and religious press of the United States and Canada.

Judges.— In connection with each examination the best twelve papers will be selected and these twelve will be submitted to a committee of competent judges for further selection. All possible precautions will be taken in order

[1] This condition is simply to insure good faith on the part of the applicant, and as a guarantee of his eligibility. Special arrangements will be made in the case of applicants not connected with any institution at the date of application.

that the judges may have no clue to the identity of the writers. The prizes will be awarded solely on the intrinsic merit of the papers.

The judges of the Hebrew papers will be Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Professor William Henry Green, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and Professor D. G. Lyon of Harvard University.

The judges of the papers in New Testament Greek will be Professor William Arnold Stevens, of Rochester Theological Seminary, Professor Charles F. Bradley, of Garrett Biblical Institute, and Professor J. S. Riggs, of Auburn Theological Seminary.

The judges of the papers in the English Bible will be President George S. Burroughs, of Wabash College, Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale, and Professor W. W. Moore, of the Union Theological Seminary Hampden-Sidney, Virginia.

Method of Conducting.— The examinations will be conducted by a member of the faculty in each institution in which an examination is to be held. The questions, twenty in number, furnished him by the Institute, under seal, will be opened in the presence of the class, in a room which he shall name. Three consecutive hours at such a period of the day as shall be most convenient for examiner and candidates will be allowed for each examination. (For dates see above.)

The names of all candidates in his college or Seminary will be officially reported by the Institute to the examiner, one month previous to the dates of the examinations. The examiner will meet the candidates as soon as possible after that time, and will appoint the hour and place of the examination, and explain its necessary details. He will also notify all candidates who may be absent from the meeting.

Character of the Examinations.— It will be the endeavor of those preparing the questions to present a series of clear, definite and somewhat comprehensive questions, which will be a fair and approximately accurate test of the ability and knowledge of the student. They will be more difficult than an ordinary college examination in these subjects. It is suggested therefore that each candidate make a careful study of the outlines, which will be printed in the official announcement of the examinations, and test his knowledge of them.

N. B. The Institute reserves the privilege of withdrawing one or all of these examinations should an insufficient number of candidates apply. A total of twenty-five candidates in either subject will be deemed a sufficient number.

[1] For forms of application and announcements address the office of the Institute, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ills.

[1] As there is no income to the Institute from this work the courtesy of return postage will be appreciated.

Work and Workers.

THE course of lectures in theology which were delivered last year before the Chicago Theological Seminary by Rev. JAMES DENNEY, D.D., are soon to be published by Hodder and Stoughton (London), under the title *Studies in Theology*.

THE announcement of the INTERNATIONAL LESSONS for the year 1896 is that the first six months will be spent upon the Gospel of Luke, the last six months upon the Old Testament history of David and Solomon, covering 2 Samuel and 1 Kings to the twelfth chapter.

AFTER eleven years the STRACK AND ZÖCKLER COMMENTARY on the Bible has at last reached completion, the final volume being by Professor Strack himself upon the first four Old Testament books. The second and revised edition of the volumes upon the New Testament will be ready next year.

IT IS now definitely stated that the *Theology of the Old Testament*, by Professor A. B. DAVIDSON, will be issued by the end of next year. The *Expository Times*, in making this announcement, replies to a correspondent's inquiry that Schultz's *Old Testament Theology* (Scribners) is the best work upon the subject now, and one which will not be superseded by the forthcoming book, but must be used in conjunction with it. The standpoint, and therefore the view of the two writers, will be found to be quite different in many respects.

A GIFT of ten thousand dollars from Mr. T. Wistar Brown of Philadelphia to Haverford College (Haverford, Penn.) makes it possible for the president of that institution to announce the foundation of an annual biblical lectureship, to be known as the HAVERFORD LIBRARY LECTURES. The course each year is to be given in January, by some recognized scholar of America or England. The first lecturer on the endowment is to be J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Professor of Palæography at Cambridge University, England. This was an excellent thing for Mr. Brown to do, and many other men of means interested in other institutions, and in the ascertainment and spread of truth, might well follow his example.

INFORMATION received from the work being done by Dr. Bliss at Jerusalem under the Palestine Exploration Fund is to the effect that he has found the gate near the southwest angle of the wall to which the lately uncovered paved road led. This gate stood four feet higher than the road, and the sill is still in position. Upon going just four feet lower, Dr. Bliss

found a still older gate, which is clearly a part of the earliest wall. Thus he has opened the foundations of the times of the kings. Four large square towers have also been uncovered near the same corner. At the same time Herr Schick reports the discovery of the gate called, as early as the twelfth century, the Leper's Gate. This is in the present northern wall, and seems to indicate that that wall never lay farther out than it does now. This has an important bearing upon the location of the sepulchre.

THE periodical which we used to know three years ago as the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, published by the Christian Literature Company of New York, has at last returned to its former state. It does not seem to have found satisfaction in its conjunction either with the *Thinker*, which was tried one year, or with the *Review of the Churches*, which was tried the second year. So it has resumed its original characteristics under the title *Christian Literature*, and will as before reprint from current periodicals some of the best articles on biblical and theological subjects, according to a principle of selection which was always approved by its readers. The departments of book reviews, current literature, and chronicles are also present in their former excellent style. The magazine is to be congratulated upon its return after two years of wandering—its original form was its best and most useful form.

THE annual meeting of the American Society of Church Society was held in Washington, December 27 and 28, at the Columbian University. The following papers constituted the programme: Ritschl's Place in the History of Doctrine, by Professor C. M. Mead, Ph.D., D.D., of Hartford Theological Seminary; Letters from John Hus to his Church in Prague, by Rev. M. J. Cramer, D.D.; Some Elements in the Making of the United States, by Rev. C. H. Small; The Last Days of Thomas Paine, by Professor A. C. Thomas, of Haverford College; Philip Schaff, by Professor George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D., of Yale University; Samuel Sewall (1652–1730) and his Generation in Massachusetts, by Professor J. S. Ewell, of Howard University; The Death of English Presbyterianism after the Revolution of 1688, by Professor T. C. Johnson, D.D., of Hampden-Sidney Theological Seminary. The papers were excellent and well received.

A REQUEST comes to the BIBLICAL WORLD that it should advocate the preparation by Professor Thayer of an abridged edition of his *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* This is asked for on the ground that as a matter of fact the great majority of ministers will not use the larger work, but would use the smaller one. We are sorry not to be ably to comply with this request, but it does not seem the best thing. There are plenty of small, good and cheap lexicons to the New Testament (for example, Hickie's *Lexicon of the New Testament*, published by Macmillans at seventy-five cents) for all who wish merely to translate the Greek of the New Testament, and are unable or unwilling to use an adequate lexicon. But no competent or satis-

factory study can be made of the New Testament in the original without at least as much information as Thayer's *Lexicon* gives. The book should not be reduced to the level of minimum Greek Bible students, even though that class is large. The class itself must attain to the use of the present book if they would gain confidence and respect as teachers of the New Testament.

THE three most valuable Bibles in the world, says the *Sunday School Times*, are found in the British Museum, the National Library in Paris, and the Cloister of Belem, near Lisbon. The first is in manuscript, written by Alcuin and his pupils, and in 800 A.D. was presented to Charlemagne on the day of his coronation. In the thirties of the present century it was in the possession of a private gentleman in Basel, who offered it to the French government for 42,000 francs ($8,400). Afterwards it was sold to the British Museum for the comparatively small sum of £750 (about $3,750). The book is written in fine, small characters, and is decorated throughout with exquisite vignettes and arabesques. The chapter headings, as also the name of Jesus, are everywhere printed in gold. The Paris Bible was published in 1527, printed by order of Cardinal Ximenes, and dedicated to Leo X. One of the three copies, printed on vellum paper, was in 1789 sold to England for 12,000 francs ($2,400). Afterwards this copy was presented to Louis Philippe, and in this way was placed in the National Library. The third, or Belem Bible, consists of nine folio volumes, and is written on parchment. It was stolen by Junot in 1807, and taken to Paris. Madame Junot, when Portugal wanted to buy the Bible back, asked 150,000 francs ($37,500) for it. Louis XVIII., however, made the Portuguese government a present of the precious volumes.

THE President of a university, which is not named, contributed to the *Independent* of November 8 an article relating the ignorance which he discovered concerning the Bible in a certain Freshman class. The density and breadth of this ignorance is surprising only to those who have no opportunity of seeing what college students know and do not know of the Bible. However, it is only fair to say that the test was made on the basis of historical details and personalities, the majority from the Old Testament. There are a good many things that it is more important one should know than that Moses smote the rock in the wilderness, or that the shadow on Hezekiah's dial turned backward, or that the moon stood still in the valley of Ajalon, or that Esau's hands were hairy, or that the priests of Baal gashed themselves, and so on, all points which were taken by this president as tests of how much the Freshmen knew about the Bible. Yes, perhaps more persons knew about these things a generation or two ago than now, but there is a great deal more to be known now, things which are of much greater importance than these matters of the minutiæ of Jewish history. The test cannot be considered a fair one. It should have been made upon the basis of matters which are of real significance to practical religious thought and life. If this president had

examined them as to how much they knew about the principles of Christianity, the chief teachings of Jesus and the main aspects of his life, he might have found that they were acquainted with that which was most essential. We have no right to expect that a Freshman, or for that matter a Senior, will have filled his mind with a thousand and one details even of Old Testament history. But the main point of the president's article is to be commended—we need more knowledge of the Bible, and the college student does not get a proper introduction to these masterpieces of religious literature. To get this needed acquaintance with the Bible, our writer recommends five things, all of which we thoroughly approve: (1) the reading of the Bible by every individual; (2) the reading of the Bible in the home; (3) the Sunday School teaching of the Bible should be more intelligent; (4) the American college must give adequate instruction in biblical truths, facts, and principles; (5) the different kinds of literature in the Bible must be recognized.

Book Reviews.

Introduction au Noveau Testament. Par F. GODET, Docteur en Théologie . . . . Introduction particulière. I. Les Épitres de Saint Paul. Neuchatel: Attinger Frères, 1893. Pp. xv, 737. Price 12 francs.

Introduction to the New Testament: By F. Godet, D.D., Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchatel. Particular Introduction. I. The Epistles of St. Paul. Translated from the French by William Affleck, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1894. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. xiii, 621. Price $4.50.

This new contribution of Professor Godet to Isagogics is constructed upon an ample plan. In the chapter entitled "Preliminaries," Professor Godet discusses briefly, but instructively the nature of the science now commonly called Introduction to the New Testament. With Baur and Weiss, though on somewhat different grounds from those which Weiss urges, he rejects the view of Reuss which giving it a purely narrative character, makes it merely a chapter of ecclesiastical history; he maintains on the contrary that the science is critical rather than purely historical, the impulse that gives rise to it being not merely the desire to write a literary history of early Christianity, but to determine whether the church is justified in accepting the books of the New Testament as authoritative. On the other side he regards Baur's view as too inclusive, holding that introduction as a critical science (Weiss's word *historico-critical* would seem to express Godet's thought better even than his own word *critical*), is incompetent to decide the question of canonicity or authority, but can only answer those of origin and apostolicity, and must leave to another science the accomplishment of the remainder of the task demanded by the desire that gives it birth. This definition applies, however, only to Special Introduction as it is called, *i. e.* introduction to the several books. Introduction in the larger sense includes also history of the formation of the Canon, and history of its fortunes, and in particular of its text.

Equally interesting in their way are the discussion of the function of critical science in the life of the church, and the sketch of critical work accomplished down to the present day. The former especially tempts the reviewer to discussion, but limited space forbids.

The present volume belongs, as its title indicates, to special introduction and confines itself to the Pauline Epistles. To its discussion of the several letters in their supposed historical order it prefixes, as is necessary, a chapter on the life of the apostle until the writing of the first epistles. The author

employs for this purpose the testimony not only of the Pauline letters (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Phil., 1 Tim.) but also of Acts. The historical character of the latter he defends at every point, even to the extent, for example, of resolving the seeming contradiction between 9 : 7 and 22 : 9 by a distinction in meaning between *ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς* and *ἀκούειν τὴν φωνήν*. He maintains on the basis of the epistles (with which Acts of course agrees) that the appearance of Jesus to Saul in connection with his conversion was real and in the first instance objective ; the revelation of Jesus in him was the sequel to the objective appearance. He holds that in these initial experiences of his Christian life the essential features of Paul's gospel and mission were already made clear to him. Godet thus takes as against Sabatier and others, the same view with respect to the development, or rather non-development, of Paul's theology which Professor Bruce maintains in his recent volume on the Pauline conception of Christianity.

Coming to the epistles, Godet accepts as genuine writings of the apostle all those attributed to him in the New Testament, and places them in the four commonly recognized groups. His treatment is, however, much more than a defense of their genuineness. He discusses in case of the epistles to the churches the founding of the church, the contents of the epistle, the circumstances of its composition, and finally its authorship. A somewhat full history of the criticism of the epistle is given under the discussion of its authorship, including even the latest phases of criticism, represented by Loman and Steck ; naturally Godet pays special attention to the latter.

The Galatian churches Godet finds in North Galatia (he had not read Ramsay, or any of the literature called forth by his book) and places the writing of the letter at Ephesus, at the beginning of the year.

He holds that Paul wrote four letters to the Corinthians, one of these preceding our 1 Corinthians and another falling between our 1 Corinthians and our 2 Corinthians ; the second visit to Corinth implied in 1 Cor. 13 : 1, he places between 1 and 2 Corinthians. He defends the integrity and unity of the epistle to the Romans. Colossians and Ephesians he dates from the first Roman imprisonment, and regards the latter as a circular letter to churches of Asia, not including Ephesus. Philippians is also, of course, from the first Roman imprisonment, but later than Colossians and Ephesians. The apostle was released from the imprisonment recorded in the last chapter of Acts, and in the interval between that release and his death, which occurred at latest in 67 (the year, according to Godet, of Nero's death !), visited Greece and Asia Minor again, probably also Spain, and wrote the letter to Timothy and Titus.

The book is thoroughly readable, not to say entertaining. It looks at its problems for the most part in the large, and while it considers at length the opinions of various writers and the arguments on all sides, it does not weary the reader with details of statistical arguments or strain his attention by a closely woven texture of reasoning, the premises for which are in passages

not quoted but only referred to in figures. Its defect, if it has one, is a certain generality of treatment which leaves the reader with the vague impression of not having grappled hand and hand with his problems. To one who wishes a somewhat ample, but not too minute treatment of the critical and historical questions connected with the Pauline epistles from a writer who knows well what has been said on all sides, is able to deal fairly with all, and yet has no aversion to a thoroughly conservative conclusion, the book may be heartily commended. The student who wishes to do more exhaustive and more purely scientific work will find the book useful, but of course not in itself adequate to his purpose, as perhaps, indeed no single book can be.

The English translation by Mr. Affleck is in the main clear and smooth, yet there are occasional infelicities and obscurities. On p. 228, the translation of Gal. 4 : 16, "because I tell you the truth," following the English version, obscures Godet's meaning. Godet's French should doubtless be read, as the Greek may also be properly rendered, "by telling you the truth." On p. 559, end of the second paragraph, the parenthesis should undoubtedly read, "in order that I may set out myself." On p. 584, line 20, "How precious were not some sure and devoted women for these various tasks," is certainly not idiomatic English. A curious blunder frequently repeated is the retention of the name of the well-known Berlin Professor von Soden in the French form which Godet gave it, *De Soden*. We should be interested to know whether our English friends consider it elegant to write *Is not it understood?* instead of *Is it not understood?* This seems to be a favorite form of expression with Mr. Affleck.

The name of the publishers of the translation guarantees that the mechanical execution of the book is excellent. The proof reading, however, is not quite perfect. Page 182 line 29, *read* fully; page 197, line 19, *read* ἀπὸ; line 30, *read* ἐμοί; page 378, line 20, *read* Tholuck; page 534, line 22, *read* Gebhardt; page 546, line 6, *read* regard; page 547, line 17, *read* these.

E. D. B.

The Incarnation and Common Life. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. Pp. xii.+428. Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1893. $2.50.

In this volume of twenty sermons Bishop Westcott discusses with characteristic frankness and scholarly spirit the relations of Christian doctrine and life to some of the present problems of society. The practical character of these sermons will be seen in some of their titles: Social Obligations of the National Church; the Incarnation a Revelation of Human Duties; the Family; Socialism; Educational Value of Coöperation. The general position of the author may be seen in these words from the second sermon mentioned above: "The incarnation of the Word of God becomes to us, as we meditate upon the fact, a growing revelation of duties personal, social, national. . . . . It hallows labor and our scene of labor. . . . . The first word which the Lord

taught his disciples to use 'Father' (Luke 11:2), 'Our Father, which art in heaven' (Matt. 6:9), expresses briefly what the Incarnation has wrought for us as men." But as, indeed, might be expected Bishop Westcott is not a sentimentalist. He sees in the church the shaper of public opinion, and in the state the enforcer of the opinion thus shaped. The life of the Christ, the God-man, is to furnish the inspiration for all social progress. It is in full belief that such inspiration is possible that Bishop Westcott, in his sermon on Socialism, counsels his clergy to study social problems, and to appreciate the noble ideal that socialism in its various forms endeavors to apprehend.

Probably not all Christian thinkers could follow this elevation of the Incarnation to the supreme Christian doctrine. Here theological preconceptions are certain to modify emphasis in teaching. There is, too, a reasonable question as to whether in his effort to make the incarnation the centre of a remedial social philosophy, Bishop Westcott has not allowed his sociology to color his exegesis. But none the less is the helpfulness of these sermons apparent. Their balanced sympathy and their British common sense make them models of what the method of sociological preaching should be—a quality especially welcome because of the half-considered religious social teachings with so much of which we are at present exhorted and condemned.

S. M.

A Brief Introduction to New Testament Greek, with Vocabularies and Exercises. By SAMUEL G. GREEN, B.A., D.D., author of "Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament." New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. 16mo, pp. 128. 40 cents.

Students whose ambition is to understand the New Testament thoroughly will, it is to be hoped, still pursue the time-honored plan of acquiring a thorough knowledge of classical Greek as a basis for their study of the New Testament. Those to whom this is for any reason impossible may be recommended to study New Testament Greek alone. Even a little knowledge of it, provided only it be real and accurate knowledge, will be of service to them, chiefly, however, in that it will give to their reading of the New Testament a certain freshness, and will enable them to use commentaries otherwise inaccessible to them. Real and independent exegesis of the Greek Testament requires somewhat thorough knowledge of its language, as well as of the principles and art of interpretation.

One would be glad to see the number of those who study New Testament Greek without a classical basis—in this country, at least, a limited one—enlarged, if only the increase could be drawn from those who otherwise would learn no Greek at all. It is for this class of students that this book has been prepared. In the difficult task of condensing without obscuring, author and printer have coöperated, with the result of a book attractive to the eye, small in compass and reasonably comprehensive in scope. It is not, however, free from infelicities. It strikes one with surprise to be told (p. 14)

that the accents are not now generally noticed in pronunciation. America must be lagging behind England in this reform. The statement that when the subject of the verb is a personal pronoun it is not separately expressed unless emphatic (p. 19) requires qualification as applied to the New Testament. The phrase "object of the passive verb" (p. 108) is confusing and, especially to a beginner, misleading. The phrase "continuous and incomplete" is not a happy characterization of the conception which the imperfect gives of the action to which it refers. The classing of the infinitive of purpose along with the true object infinitive under the head object-infinitive confuses things that differ. The title of the book does not very accurately describe its character. "Elements of New Testament Greek" would have been more definitely suggestive of its actual content. E. D. B.

How to Study the English Bible [Present Day Primers]. By R. B. GIRDLESTONE, Minister of St.John's, etc. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. 1894. Pp. 120. Price 40 cents.

There is very much interesting and useful material gathered together in this little manual. It is very readable both on account of its fresh and vigorous style and for the judicious spirit and wise counsel that are so acceptable on every page. The book contains but 120 pages, yet the outline treatment of the subject is so clear and precise that one has, after reading it, a grateful feeling of satisfaction for having gained so much information in so short a time.

The allusions to the critical problems of biblical study are all of a conservative stamp; one would hardly know there was more than one side—which is undoubtedly a wise course in a book of so elementary a character. The discussion moves along without halt or hindrance of any kind, it includes a description of the English Bible; the character of the Bible, hints and rules for its study; its use for dogmatic as well as for devotional and practical purposes. Anyone would be interested in reading the book, either to refresh his memory on the facts or to gain a comprehensive view of the subject in a small space.

C. E. W.

The International Teacher's Edition of the Holy Bible. Appendix edited by REV. C. H. H. WRIGHT, Incumbent of St. John's, Liverpool, etc. New York: International Bible Agency.

This edition of the Teacher's Bible contains everything conceivable in the way of general and special introduction. There are general articles on How to study the Bible, Inspiration, the Ancient Versions of the Bible, etc; summary of the books of both the Old and New Testament, articles on the Apocrypha, special studies on topics peculiar to either Testament, such as the Hebrew Festivals, Messianic Prophecies, Harmony of the Gospels, Sermon on the Mount etc., historical sketches of the whole period, the Bible and the

Ancient Monuments, with excellent engravings of many of the pictures from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, general articles on the Geography, Ethnology, Geology, etc. of the Bible; helps to devotional and practical study; maps, concordance, index, pronunciation of proper names, etc; everything, in fine, that a teacher needs for an intelligent handling of the Word of God. The only unfavorable feature about this otherwise perfect Appendix is the small type in which it is printed. The type is very clear indeed, but yet too small for other than strong eyes. The main portion of the book is in larger type, and printed in very attractive style. The text is in the version of King James.

Some of the articles in the Appendix are done by American scholars, such as President Harper, Philip Schaff, Bishop Vincent, but the most come from English hands. The work is all of the best, however, and this edition of the Bible ought to prove of great service to a teacher who is anxious to know the latest facts gained by the modern study of the Bible, the land, and the monuments.

C. E. W.

The Psalms (Expositor's Bible). By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. Vol. III. Psalms XC.–CL. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pages viii. and 461. Price, $1.50.

When Dr. Maclaren put out his first volume on the Psalms in this series his readers were charmed with his expositions, and delighted with his methods. It seemed then that he was setting a high standard, to be carried through an exposition of the whole Psalter. We now have his third volume, completing his task, and are more than gratified to find that the same careful, critical examination of the original text, and the same elevated, striking spiritual exposition obtains to the last page of the volume. His position on certain critical questions is of interest to every reader. Regarding the authorship of Psalm 90 he says: "The arguments against the Mosaic authorship, apart from those derived from the as yet unsettled questions in regard to the Pentateuch, are weak." . . . . "The characteristic Mosaic tone in regarding death as the wages of sin, the massive simplicity and the entire absence of dependence on other parts of the Psalter, which separate this psalm from almost all the others of the Fourth Book [of the Psalter], are strongly favorable to the correctness of the superscription" (pp. 4 and 5).

The queston of the kenosis of Christ is brought forward in his treatment of Psalm 110. After stating that many who bow to the authority of Christ, think that his reference to this psalm does not foreclose a discussion of its authorship, he says, "It is urged that his object in his argument with the Pharisees, in which this psalm is quoted by him (Matt. 22:41–46 and parallels), is not to instruct them on the authorship of the psalm, but to argue from its contents; and though he assumes the Davidic authorship, accepted generally at the time, yet the cogency of his argument is unimpaired, so long as it is recognized

that the psalm is a Messianic one, and that the august language used in it of Messiah is not compatible with the position of One who was a mere human son of David (*Driver*, Introd., p. 363, Note). So also Dr. Sanday (*Inspiration*, p. 420) says that 'the Pharisees were taken on their own ground, and the fallacy of their conclusion was shown on their own premises.' But our Lord's argument is not drawn from the 'august language' of the psalm, but from David's relationship to the Messiah, and crumbles to pieces if he is not the singer" (p. 183 f.). Dr. Maclaren gives no uncertain sound to his words, and stands firmly on the ground of Christ's authority in this question.

His position on other points connected with the date and authorship of Psalms in this section of the Psalter, is defended by argument based on a broad and scholarly basis. He seems to be a truth-seeker rather than a theory-supporter.

The completion of these three volumes is cause for rejoicing on the part of biblical students, for here they find the candid, ripe judgment of a great preacher and careful student of God's word. Some one has said, that "next to reading the Bible we want to read Dr. Maclaren's sermons."

PRICE.

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CONTINUING

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THE distinction between an event in history and the record of that event is clearly self-evident, and yet we are inclined, in many instances, to ignore it. Statements in the record which, from an external point of view, may have only an indirect connection with the events often lose this connection in common use and are given a meaning which the earlier situation would not have allowed. The event itself which furnishes the basis for the statement in the record, if it is not minutely described, is soon forgotten; while the statements are, after a while, given a prominence they were never intended to possess. So important a position is assigned to the record that frequently we forget that there could have been no record if the event had not taken place. We may cite two very familiar examples. The resurrection of Jesus Christ was an event intended in the divine plan to represent certain fundamental truths in Christianity. As a matter of fact that resurrection formed the basis of certain possibilities in the case of each man who professes a faith in the Christ. If the account of the resurrection had been handed down by tradition without written form, and even if there had been varying traditions contradicting each other in details, would the event as a part of the divine plan have been any the less significant? Would these possibilities in the case of believers have been ruled out? It may be asserted, therefore, that without any

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written record the fact of the resurrection would have accomplished the same results, so far as without a written record the spread of Christianity could have been brought about. Again, not one in a hundred who reads the ninth chapter of Isaiah realizes the important historical event but for which this sermon of Isaiah would never have been preached. It was in connection with the invasion of Damascus and of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. At this time when these tribes are suffering dishonor, the prophet speaks of a period in the future when *they* will be the first to be honored. In a time of greatest darkness he preaches of light. In a time of deepest sorrow he preaches of a joy which can only be compared to that of those who distribute the booty. When the yoke of the oppressor has been placed upon a portion of the chosen people, he preaches of the breaking of that yoke. When war with all its terrors and horrors is upon them, he preaches of the destruction of all warlike implements. In contrast with Tiglath-pileser, the tyrant, he preaches of the Prince of Peace. We see, therefore, that this most magnificent Messianic passage is dependent for the time of its utterance, the form of its expression, and the essence of its meaning upon the invasion of the Assyrian king. Shall we think only of the words of the sermon and neglect to consider the striking event in Israelitish history with which the production stands thus closely connected? It must be clear that for any proper understanding of the record there must be an understanding of the event which lies back of the record; and, still further, that any supernatural or divine characteristic attributed to the record must be a characteristic also of the historical event out of which the record grew.

THIS brings us face to face with a question concerning Israel's history. Is this history in any sense peculiar? If not, how can the record be regarded as peculiar? If the plan of God for the deliverance of men included, in its working out, great and important events in the history of a particular people, does this not give to these events a unique character? If the Psalms and prophecies were the outgrowth of individual experience and national

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experience, are we not most of all indebted to these experiences, and do not these experiences stand by themselves, apart from other individual and national experiences? Granting that the Holy Scriptures have had in a peculiar sense a divine origin, can we logically deny this same origin to the events which formed the very fabric of the record? Logically this seems to follow, but it is only fair to ask whether any evidence exists that this is true. But where may we expect to find such evidence? In answer it may be said, in the facts narrated; provided, of course, we are sure that they are facts; in the testimony of the writers, provided, of course, we are willing to accept the credibility of this testimony; in a comparison of Israelitish institutions with the institutions of other nations; in the present condition of the Jewish nation; and in the influences which have been wrought out as a result of the occurrence of these events. It is possible only to make the merest suggestion of the arguments which deserve consideration.

The Facts of Israelitish History

The facts of Israelitish history, including those also of the first century of the Christian era, when collected and classified, furnish a group which is paralleled by no other group of facts in the world's history. With the call of Abraham, the life in Egypt, the work of Moses, Samuel and David; with the futile struggle for independent existence of northern and southern kingdoms—times which produced such men as Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; with the foreign captivities and the return from the great captivity; with the continued struggle, religious and political, through the Greek and Syrian periods; with the coming of the Christ and the events of his ministry; with the conversion of Paul and the results of his preaching; with all its strange and miraculous events which were ordered at the most critical periods in this long cycle of twenty centuries; with its unity and consistency from beginning to end as seen in the gradual growth and development of ideas, and in the prophetic declarations and in the fulfillment of prophecy; with an idealism which fairly staggers even our own generation because of its sublimity and lofty character; brought

into close contact at different times with all the great civilizations of antiquity, Ancient Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, Phœnician, Syrian, Assyrian, Later Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman; shaped to some extent by all, yet maintaining its independence of all—these facts and this history are so unique, have such significance, sustain so peculiar a relation to all other history, stand so apart, reveal so clearly a divine plan, that the student of history fails to find any adequate explanation unless he accepts the proposition that this history was divinely ordered in a sense in which no other history was so ordered.

The Value of Israelitish Testimony

That Israelitish history is unique; that a nation was especially chosen by God from all the nations of the earth to do a work which should bless all the families of the earth; that "when the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the children of men, he set the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the children of Israel;" that Israel was especially guided in every step of national history; that Jehovah compassed him about, instructed him, kept him as the apple of his eye; that disaster was the direct messenger of the God of all the earth to warn or punish his people; that prosperity was in the strictest sense the result of obedience to the divine command; that the neighboring nations were instruments in the hands of God for training Israel; that Israel was the son of God, one in whose tutelage God, the father, took special interest; that Israel was the spouse of God, his only wife; that Jehovah, not a national deity, but the creator of all the earth, the God of all the nations, was his guide, his rock and his redemer; that Israel's God was on close and intimate terms with Israel's leaders; that he gave specific direction as to events of political as well as religious character; that Israel's legislation came direct from heaven; that Israel's prophets spoke the exact word of God—all this, poets, prophets and sages declare repeatedly and emphatically. If these things are not true, Israel's poets, prophets and sages were self-deceived, or gross deceivers. If a tenth part of this testimony is accepted, the doctrine of the divinely ordered

Israelitish history is established. Is the testimony consistent with evidence which may be gathered outside of the records? Does an examination of contemporaneous records from Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome confirm this testimony? The answer cannot be questioned. The more we learn of these ancient records, the more confirmed are we as to the reliability of the testimony of Scripture narratives. If Scripture testimony is consistent with itself and with the facts, and if outside testimony corroborates it, the case is settled.

The Evidence Furnished by Israel's Institutions and Traditions

Israelitish life includes many institutions. The life, as a matter of fact, was largely controlled by these institutions; they formed, at all events, an integral part of the life, and as such are of special value in this connection. If we could believe as formerly that such institutions as the Sabbath and circumcision were peculiar to the Israelites, this might constitute an argument for their divine origin, and consequently for the supernatural character of Israelitish history. But we now know that these and other institutions were the common property of many nations. In not a few cases there is historical evidence of their existence centuries before the time of Abraham. Does this, then, go to prove the opposite of the proposition for which we are contending? By no means. The institution of sacrifice is most common among all ancient nations. There are many resemblances between the observances of the institution among the Hebrews and other ancient nations, and these go to prove a common origin. But when we make comparison, we find that dissimilarities in form and spirit and purpose exist, greater by far than any similarities. The same is true of circumcision, and of other institutions which might be mentioned. Instead of representing that which was degrading, it came to be the symbol of everything that was uplifting. In the comparison we find differences and similarities so great and of such a character that the only plausible hypothesis to be adopted is that the Israelitish nation, under the peculiar guidance of the Supreme Being, although inheriting these institutions, revealed them in a form

purified, modified, and even revolutionized by an influence directly divine. The same result follows a comparison of the pre-Abrahamic traditions of Israel with the corresponding traditions of other nations. Israel, in common with these nations, had its stories of creation, the origin of sin, the beginning of civilization, the long-lived patriarchs, the deluge, the dispersion of nations. As we have shown before, the resemblances of Israel's stories to the other stories are so many and so great as to show a common origin; but the differences are far greater. What does this indicate? A differentiation which could only be the result of a supernatural influence, the same influence which guided the actions of the chosen nation. There are those, to be sure, who magnify the resemblances at the expense of the differences, but any careful examination must, we think, lead to the conclusion that a hand other than human did this work.

The Jewish Nation of Today

The anomaly of all history is the modern Jew—hated, but feared; persecuted, but respected. "They are as distinct today as when they came out of Egypt or returned from Babylon. Roman, Goth, Spaniard, Italian, Englishman, all in turn, and church or state, separate or combined, have in vain exerted their cruelest ingenuity to extirpate them, or blend them beyond the possibility of recovery with the Gentiles." "Empires have passed away as a shadow, leaving behind them only their names. They have perished and their places know them no more. But the Jews are still there, standing apart from all other races, as in the days of Jesus Christ, one distinct and unique family in the midst of the confusion of all others—rich, though a thousand times despoiled; increasing in numbers and more united than ever though scattered by a tempest of eighteen centuries to the extremities of the globe.[1]

The Jew is at once an enigma and a miracle. What is the key to the enigma? the explanation of the miracle? the facts as recorded in the Old and New Testament. No other testimony is needed to corroborate the truth of these records, the argu-

[1] *The Argument for Christianity*, pp. 237–239.

ment is capable of large expansion and direct application to the question at hand. One thing, at all events, seems clear. If the hand of God has touched in a peculiar way any nation in the progress of the world's history, it is the nation of the Jews.

The Influences Growing out of these Events

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The test was given us long ago in Deuteronomy (18:22): "When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him." The reverse of this is equally true. Submitted to this test, the events of Israelitish history, including the first century of the Christian era, show themselves to be worthy of the place to which we assign them, the place of supremacy, of peculiarity, of uniqueness, such uniqueness as may not be explained by any natural hypothesis. It is true that from the divine point of view, everything is natural, that, therefore, there is no dividing line between natural and supernatural; but it is also true that even from the point of view of God, there are different kinds of the "natural." The events of Hebrew and Jewish history may not be compared with any others. They stand alone. God acted in them as he acted in no others.

The Underlying Principle

Why did he select Israel? In order, through Israel, to bring larger life, and larger thought to other nations. Was the divine heart drawn more closely to Israel than to other nations? No; but in order that all humanity might be delivered this plan was adopted. The same method in principle was adopted by Jesus, who selected twelve that through these his truth might be proclaimed abroad. Was he in this act guilty of any favoritism?

The facts of Israelitish history speak for themselves; the method of the divine plan, as we dimly see it, was fundamentally sound; the results far more than justify the procedure. *Israelitish history is in a peculiar sense divine.*

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS AFFECTED BY MODERN SCHOLARSHIP.[1]

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Research has led to more adequate statements of truth.—Methods of authors in the composition of the Old Testament books.—Timeliness of the messages of God contained in the Old Testament in (1) *the historical books,* (2) *prophetic books.—Our attitude toward investigation.*

According to my understanding with the committee, I am not here to represent any side in a debate, but rather to share in the discussion of a topic of common interest in which each speaker sets forth such conclusions of modern scholars as he considers established facts. I do not see why there should be sides at all today. In regard to some of the results of modern scholarship we all may be perfectly agreed.

At the time I accepted an invitation to deliver a brief address before the Baptist Congress, I did not know who were to take part in the discussion with me, and when I received a copy of the programme containing the names of the distinguished gentlemen who speak upon this subject, and reflected that my first really public address upon the theme was to be delivered in the presence of these veterans, I confess to an added increment of that humility which I could but feel in any case in approaching a subject of absorbing interest to the church and to the world in this year of grace 1894. I had an intimation indeed that Dr. Harper was to be one of the speakers; and while Dr. Harper and I have had no particular understanding in the matter, I was encouraged by his unfailing friendliness to me and by his uniform courtesy and breadth of mind to anticipate generous treatment from him, whether my view of the facts agreed with his or not. I am sure also that the other gentlemen who have done me the honor to place their words by mine would be equally ready to grant me

[1] Read before the Baptist Congress at Detroit, Mich., November, 1894.

the same generous treatment, and for all the speakers I can only express my deep respect and my warm sympathy with them in our common toilsome and yet gracious journey in the search for ultimate facts in theology, and offer them that fraternal comradeship which I know they will be glad to accord to me.

My general position is that of a non-partisan; or, if every scholar must be a partisan, it is that of a moderate conservative. That is to say, on this question of the results of modern scholarship upon the interpretation of the Old Testament, I am neither with those who maintain that modern scholarship has brought us no assured results, nor with those who accept unquestioningly the latest deliverances of modern scholars. I believe that there have been results positive, valuable, vital to theology, though less radical than some of the best scholars would claim. I do not believe that the old foundations are gone or are ever to go. I do believe that work has been done even on the foundations, and that they are capable of supporting a better superstructure than has yet been erected over them.

Let me begin by making a distinction. The question before us presupposes that the study of a generation and a century has not been devoted solely to the acquisition of past discoveries in the Old Testament field, but that, through investigations of the proper sort, fresh discoveries may be made, in the light of which we may prepare more adequate statements of Old Testament truth. The presentation of improved statements does not involve, however, the falsity of the formulas for which substitution has been made. Research, for the most part, results in clearer and more discriminating specifications of older truth, and, in my judgment, we can show our respect for the fathers and our appreciation of their services to theology in no other way so well as by the most searching examination of their positions, with the view to supplementing them at their weak points. It would surely be preposterous for any of us to deny that the Bible has far more of truth than all the scholars in the world have ever obtained from it, and all of us, therefore, should be humble and expectant searchers for fuller light upon its pages. I must remind you that we cannot ourselves choose the degree of light

that God shall bring to us, nor the particular channel through whom the light shall come. Some men who have made but slight advance in Christian faith may be very good critics of the text of Scripture and admirable interpreters of the letter of the Word, and these may bring new and valuable facts to the light of day. In this way God has operated very often in the past to open up the treasures of his truth. He is likely to do the same again and again; and if we say we will not listen to such and such a notion about the Bible because it is proclaimed by some higher critic whom we do not consider evangelical, we may thereby shut the door of our heart to some larger view of truth that God intended that we should receive.

For many years the effort of scholars has been, particularly, to answer the question as to the part of man in the joint-authorship of the books of the Old Testament, and just now interest in the question is shown among all classes of Bible students. It will be strange if this new interest in the human side of the Bible does not give us an exalted conception of the divine side of the Bible. Some of us are old enough to remember the time when the divine side of the personal Word, the Christ of God was emphasized to the exclusion of, or at any rate the obscuration of, his humanity. We are now in the trend of thought which lays the stress upon the human side of his adorable person; and we find thereby a nobler, because a more adequate and balanced view of his divinity. And this may be to us a picture and a prophecy of the means by which we may secure a richer view of the written Word of God.

If a statement of the results of research is to be anything more than a catalogue of the same, attention must be confined to such broad principles as have been established, without enumeration of details. And, therefore, I shall make a general affirmation of certain principles that seem now either to be more clearly perceived, or more generally recognized than formerly, accompanied with such illustrations as may serve to make definite the ideas of the paper.

I. And, in the first place, modern scholars set forth with great plainness the methods of the authors in the composition of

the Old Testament books. A careful examination of the historical books reveals the fact that the ancient historians were in the habit of transcribing their material directly from their sources and of making such additions of their own as were necessary to weld the extracts together and to adapt the whole to the purpose of the writer. The modern biographical method will illustrate the ancient Hebrew custom. In recent times, biographers have sought to make the letters, addresses, and conversations of the subjects of their biographies tell their own story, and they now interject only such remarks as may help to bring out the life as a well-rounded whole. In this manner, as distinguished from that of the modern historian, who shapes the material from his sources in his own way, the Hebrew historians have left us their works in the form of compilations. You may see the working of this method in the clearest way by comparison of the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand and of the Chronicles on the other. As is well known, the books of Samuel and Kings deal largely with the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and while there is a manifest desire to draw religious lessons from the history, the political relations of the time are not neglected. The Chronicles, on the other hand, deal with the history of the dynasty of David and therefore after the division of the kingdom confine themselves to the history of Judah. Consequently we know little about the Northern kingdom from the books of Chronicles, and that little appears to be communicated for the sake of the information given respecting the fortunes of the Judean kings. In keeping with this idea, the history in Chronicles is more largely that of the institutions of religion than of the state as such, such matters as the religious fidelity of the kings and their lapses, the priestly services, and the musical arrangements of the chief sanctuary receiving a large share of emphasis.

The selections taken by the author of Kings from his sources are dovetailed by him and accompanied with remarks of his own. For example, he has furnished the names of some of his authorities, also calculations of the chronology of the one kingdom according to dates of the other, and he has given his estimate of

the character of the several kings. And the work was enlarged after the first compiler had completed his task. This is shown by the fact that the book as a whole was written before the exile to Babylon, while additions were made to it after the fall of Jerusalem. As an evidence of the punctilious fidelity of the author to the history, may be cited the fact that in 1 Kings 3:4–15 he has preserved the account of Solomon's sacrifice to God at a high place and of his reception of the divine blessing there, though worship at high places was directly opposed to his own idea of proper service and that of his time, as is evident by his statement concerning several of the good kings, that his favorable estimate is to be modified by the circumstance that they permitted worship outside of Jerusalem. The fact is of course that these good kings worshiped God at the high places with a good conscience, but the compiler's record of services, which in his day were considered contrary to true religion. furnishes strong proof of his fidelity as a historian.

Similarly the author of Chronicles has written his great work. It is easy to show how the chronicler composed his book, because one of principal sources we have in the Bible, in the canonical books of Samuel and Kings. I have compared very carefully certain accounts of Chronicles and the parallels in Samuel and Kings and as a result of the examination I feel that we may say with positiveness:

1) That the author has compiled his account from other documents, taking such extracts as he wished, and that he has transposed a part of his material out of its original connection.

2) That he has made slight changes in the material from his source or sources, has sometimes added and sometimes omitted words and phrases.

3) That in the adaptation of material to the people of his time he has made changes of emphasis, and in various ways has interpreted the events of the former time in their relation to the usages of his contemporaries. The reason for this we will consider later on. Now I would remind you simply of the changes of emphasis in this writer's record of predictive utterances, of his introduction of priestly and musical elements, and of his enlargements

of the accounts respecting numbers of persons and other details.

Let us now consider the canonical book of Jeremiah, which is really a biography of that prophet; and I will ask you to note in the first place the lack of chronological sequence in the book. If you will refer to chapter 21, you will find a message which was delivered through Jeremiah in the reign of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, about 587 B. C. In the 24th chapter is a message from the year 596 or soon afterwards. In the 25th, one from 604. In the 26th, a word from a still earlier date in the same reign. Again, chapters 27 and 28 place oracles of the prophet in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, while chapter 36 contains a long account of events occurring in the reign of Jehoiakim, the second king before Zedekiah. Moreover, the preface of this book was written by a man who knew only a part of the work, for it applies to but thirty-eight or thirty-nine chapters of the book out of fifty-two in the edition which we have, and constrains us to judge that the book once circulated in parts. I think there is good order in the final compilation, but my particular theory about that is not in point just now. The work is plainly the result of growth, and the preface belongs to an intermediate stage in this growth. Indeed we are expressly told about the first two editions of Jeremiah's sermons in chapter 36, where it is on record that he dictated to Baruch for entry upon a roll the substance of his prophecies up to the year 604. This roll was destroyed, we are informed, and Jeremiah dictated a second edition of the same, a repetition of the first matter with additions.

It is asserted by many biblical scholars that the evidences of compilation in the Pentateuch are just as numerous and just as weighty as in any of the books of the Old Testament, and that the marks of editorial hands are as plain, and they point out duplicate accounts in which similar material is presented with different phraseology and method of representation. These duplicates appear to occur throughout the first six books of the Bible. We will take time to examine only two of them:

The passage Ex. 3:1–6:1 presents the call and commission of Moses, his complaint that the people will not be willing to

listen to him, the appointment of Aaron as spokesman with the people (3:16; 4:1, 16), and three signs which are to be wrought for the satisfaction of the people. Moses and Aaron succeed in satisfying the people (4:30, 31), but Pharaoh refuses to release them (chap. 5), and Jehovah assures Moses that he will so work upon Pharaoh as to induce him to send the people out of his land (6:1). This account is continued from the 14th verse of the 7th chapter. The intervening passage, 6:2–7:13, gives a parallel version of the same or similar transactions; for, among other reasons, the writer who tells us that the people listened to Moses but that Pharaoh did not, would not of course, go on to say that the people had not hearkened to Moses, and therefore Pharaoh could not be expected to hearken (6:12). In this second account, Moses asserts his unfitness to represent God, not as before to the people, but before Pharaoh, and Aaron is appointed spokesman with *him* (6:11, 12, 29, 30; 7:1, 2). In this instance the sign of the rod is for Pharaoh, not for the people, it is Aaron's rod, not Moses's, and it becomes a reptile, not a serpent. Here Pharaoh's heart becomes strong (7:13), while in the continuation of the other narrative it is heavy (7:14). Moreover in the progress of the first narrative, Moses speaks the divine message to Pharaoh not through Aaron but in his own person (see 8:9, 26, 28).

The two forms of the ten commandments are especially instructive. Perhaps there are some even in this audience who do not know about the different forms of the commandments, and I will remind all of you that the commandments are found not only in Ex. 20:2–17 but in Deut. 5:6–21. If any of you are not familiar with the phraseology of the Deuteronomic passage, a single reading of this form of the commandments would reveal the most important variations. Since in both places the *ten words*, as they are called, in Hebrew, purport to be the original ten written with the finger of God, it is probable that there was originally but one form consisting of brief phrases such as remain in connection with the 1st, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th commandments, and that the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 10th were enlarged in different ways by two writers living subsequently to the original author.

Similar phenomena are to be observed in all parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, and attempts more or less successful have been made to extract the portions belonging to each of several alleged sources; and while there is considerable difference of opinion respecting many details and especially as to the relative ages of the four chief documents that have entered into the Hexateuch, a majority of Old Testament scholars now accept the analysis. Said the late Dr. Stearns, my teacher in this department of study, a man revered by all who knew him no less for his evangelical piety and loving faith, than for his marked honesty of mind and candid spirit, said he, "As to the terms Elohistic, Jehovistic, the younger Elohist, and the redactor, I accept the documentary hypothesis for the make-up of the Hexateuch, I believe in a compilation from several sources especially in the Genesis and the first six chapters of Exodus."

There are those who feel compelled to deny the accuracy of these conclusions, and some are disposed to have their joke respecting the assumption of critics who separate parts of verses from their context and assign them to different authors, but the kind of work by critics ascribed to the redactor (or final compiler) is precisely the sort attempted by the author of Chronicles and what was done once may have been done twice. And those who will not admit the above-mentioned conclusions are compelled to adopt the principle of editorial revision in the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy and in some other passages of the Pentateuch.

And this leads us to consider the share the modern theory attributes to Moses in the production of the Pentateuch. We will not waste our time upon the more radical views that have sometimes been presented, such as deny the supernatural character of the Old Testament revelation, but I will give you the position that just now seems to many Old Testament scholars most fairly representative of all the facts of the Bible. According to this, Moses is regarded as the ancient law-giver of Israel, and the Mosaic practice as the source of all subsequent legislation, but the Mosaic regulations were modified to suit the exigencies of subsequent periods, and he wrote far less than the whole Penta-

teuch, though he is truly presented in the five books called by his name. The chapters dealing with the history from his own time onward, as well as those which concern the previous generations, are made up of documents, prepared at different epochs, out of earlier sources of an oral or written sort, by different persons, each of whom presented in his own way, in the language of his own time, the history of the past, and the life and services of Moses, somewhat as the Evangelists present different aspects of the life of our Lord, and these aspects have been combined by the final author into one whole, and it is claimed that the apparent divergencies of the narratives and statements of laws, as well as the abrupt transitions of the period, are due to these facts. Will you allow me to make grateful confession here? I have been troubled more than once by apparent contradictions in the historical statements of the Bible, and relief has always come to me in the thought that different persons must approach a subject from different points of view, and that it is well-nigh impossible for two people to give long accounts of the same transaction without apparent conflict. On the theory of the unity of the Pentateuch, however, these difficulties become real and in fact insoluble. I may illustrate my point from the New Testament, the story of the healing of the blind man, or men, near Jericho. Matthew says there were two men and that they were healed at the departure of Jesus from the city; Luke, apparently, that a certain blind man was healed at the coming of Jesus to the city. I am ready to admit and I find it easy to admit that an explanation is possible that will harmonize these statements, but I cannot conceive that a single writer would make two such statements. The parallel between the documents of the Hexateuch and the four Gospels may be carried further yet. You are familiar with harmonies of the Gospels. Modern harmonies contain parallel matter in parallel columns. The first known harmony, that of Tatian, written in the second century, did not do this, however, but combined into one account the whole substance of the Gospels, the author going through the whole compilatory process of transposition, excision, addition, and modification of material. He has taken phrases of the Gospels out of their

original connection and bound half-verses together in a most skillful fashion, but so as to alter completely the original arrangement of them. In short, he has done with the four Gospels precisely what modern critics say has been done with four great documents in the compilation of the Hexateuch and the Tatian composite actually displaced the Gospels in a large part of the Syrian church for two centuries or more.

II. In the second place, modern scholars have called particular attention to the timeliness of the messages of God contained in the Old Testament. All the prophetical utterances, oral and written, historical and predictive, were especially adapted to those to whom they were given at the first, they grew out of the needs of these people, and they were intended to console the faithful in Israel with promises, and to warn the perverse with pictures of the disastrous consequences of their sins. If the prophetic discourses were in any sense messages to the men of the speakers' or writers' times, they must have been couched in the dialect of the times, and the authors may be supposed to have followed the literary methods and assumptions of their day. A careful examination of the books of the Bible reveals certain literary peculiarities, the recognition of which serves not merely to render the Bible a more natural and human book, but for many minds to vindicate its supernatural character. They may be gathered both from the historical and the prophetical books:

1) The Historical Books.

(*a*) It seems plain that the Hebrew historians furnished descriptions of the important events of the past in terms of the customs prevailing in their day. To make this point clear, I must refer you to incidents of which we have more than one version. The eleventh chapter of 2 Kings presents a story of the successful effort of Jehoiada, the priest, to set the youthful Joash upon the throne of Judah. According to this story it was effected by the aid of the men of war, who were distributed in the house of Jehovah, and finally brought forth the king for his coronation. In Chronicles, on the other hand, the captains are not admitted to the sacred precincts, but are sent to summon the Levites and the whole congregation of Israel. Being assembled

together, all are directed to remain without the house of Jehovah save the priests and Levites, who, instead of the Carites and Runners of Kings, are here the instruments for the accomplishment of Jehoiada's plan. What the chronicler says in effect is that the temple-servants were employed by Jehoiada in this transaction, and he substitutes for the military men priests and Levites, because in his day these only would have been allowed to enter the hallowed place. Thus the general impression concerning this rebellion is perfectly accurate, while the change of detail was made necessary in the adaptation of the story to those in whose mind the exact detail would have involved a profanation of the house of God.

I must not multiply illustrations, though it would be easy by their use to establish this point. I must say one word about good king Asa. In the description of the reformation in the reign of this king, the chronicler says that Asa took away the strange altars and the high places, though in the preceding chapter he repeats from his principal source the remark, "The high places were not taken away." That is to say, when he breaks away from the ancient source, whether he proceeds to select his own terms or borrows them from a second source, he gives a true estimate of Asa's character from his point of view. Asa was a truly religious man, we may conceive the chronicler to say to himself. Truly religious men in the chronicler's time did not worship at high places. The spirit which Asa showed would have been manifested in the later time in maintenance of the legitimate worship at Jerusalem; or, to go back to the chronicler, "Asa took away the high places." Which statement is the true one? Both. High places indeed remained. Nevertheless, the heart of Asa was perfect all his days, and he destroyed that for which high places afterward stood.

I cannot think this is fanciful. Not long since, the children in our Sunday School at Newton Centre had a lesson upon the child Samuel, in the course of which one little boy remarked that Samuel slept and lived in the chapel; whereupon his neighbor said, "not in the chapel, in the temple." The first boy is a nineteenth century illustration of the principle I emphasize,

the second boy is a higher critic, and both of them told the truth.

All this is true, in a greater or less degree, of every historian who attempts to set forth clearly the facts of the past. The author of Chronicles did not intend to correct the author of Kings, but to re-tell the story of the past in such a way as to give his contemporaries a correct total religious impression. If he had said, "These events took place according to the manner of the earlier time, the manner nowadays being so and so," he would have made the matter a little clearer to us, but not, perhaps, to the men of his time.

In some such way are to be explained the later developments of early prophetic utterances; as, for example, the assignments to David, Solomon, Jonah, and others of prophecies and songs that were composed somewhat later than their time. The ascription of Ecclesiastes to Solomon almost certainly comes under this principle. If Daniel was composed in 168 or 167 B. C., as is maintained by many evangelical critics, the book must be explained as an inspired interpretation of the history to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, joined with predictions of his fall, and rich expectations for the kingdom of the Messiah.

(*b*) The prophetical use of numbers should not be passed over. In predictive prophecy, numbers are generally acknowledged to be representative of ideas not numerical. In historical prophecy, this is no less true. What confusion we introduce when we attempt to interpret literally many of the passages of Chronicles that contain numbers! According to this book, instead of 30,000 chosen men of Israel who went with David to bring the ark to Jerusalem, all Israel did so. David pays $6,300 in our money for what cost him, according to 2 Samuel, $30, and the king gathers billions of money for the Solomonic temple. These are but samples of many statements that cannot possibly be understood in a literal way, and are comprehensible only on the supposition that the writer wishes to emphasize David's prosperous reign, his regal generosity, and similar ideas. And this seems to furnish us with one more reason for affirming with confidence that when, for example, to a man like David

words and acts and circumstances are attributed which, literally, must be understood as the form rather than the substance of the narrative, the effort is simply to present him in the proper light as the beneficent ruler of Israel, and the generous patron of the religious services.

In accord with this are to be interpreted the earlier stories of the Bible. Traditions received from common ancestors by the various peoples kindred to the Hebrews were used by the latter for the inculcation of true ideas of God and man and the relations of God to men, and the existence of peculiar methods of reckoning and other childish notions, or even verbal inaccuracies, serve but to magnify in our thought the wisdom of him who has seen fit to make man, with all his peculiarities, and with all his crudities, the medium of his revelation to the race.

(*c*) The principle here referred to serves to explain one of the most serious verbal discrepancies alleged against the Old Testament. It is this. The earlier historians seem to be ignorant concerning the developed legal system of the Hebrews, while the later writers in their descriptions of events belonging to the same periods make constant reference to the provisions of the Mosaic code. Modern scholars assert that these facts are not inconsistent with the trustworthiness of the authors. The later writers simply give credit for the developments of the law in the growing life of the people to him who was the honorable founder of the system and author of the code, and they represent Moses with substantial accuracy. It is only in circles insignificantly small that the later form of presentation is called a fabrication.

2) The message of predictive prophecy is also one to the men of the prophet's time, and the historical situation pictured in their works is the first criterion of date. No doubt the Hebrew prophets contain utterances for our time and for all time. No doubt, also, many expressions of their thought transcended the knowledge of the ancient seers; but no one can read the stern condemnation of Amos and Micah, no one can consider the loving grief of Hosea and Jeremiah, or the lofty rebukes of Isaiah and his deep consolations for the faithful in

Israel, without being sure that these men were first and foremost preachers to the men of their own generation. The reality of these messages has been obscured, however, by the failure to perceive certain general facts about prophecy; and,

(*a*) The partial element in the visions of the prophets. This may not be perfectly clear. You are familiar with the passage in which Paul says to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 3:2), that he has given them milk diet because their spiritual digestive apparatus was not strong enough to dispose of the more solid nutriment of the gospel table. This has a double bearing upon the prophetic announcements. In the first place the messengers were human, and the wisest, truest, and most inspired men have never had a perfect comprehension of God. And then, if they had, their transcendent thoughts could not be understood by their hearers. Let me invite your attention to the seventh chapter of 2 Samuel, where the promise is made to David that his posterity shall endure forever and his kingdom never come to an end. A comparison of Scripture with Scripture has convinced me that the real content of the promise, as it lay in the divine mind, had to do with the true theocracy, the kingdom of God on earth, but that necessarily in Nathan's mind and in David's this kingdom was connected with the *form* of government which existed at that time.

For the partial view sometimes cherished by the prophets, and as an illustration of God's patience in dealing with them, read the third and fourth chapters of Jonah, which contain an account of that prophet's displeasure over the divine decision to spare Nineveh, the destruction of which Jonah had just predicted. This prophet had a very partial and selfish view of God's plans.

A peculiar passage in Ezekiel has sometimes proved a surprise to Bible students, which, in the light of what I am saying, is more clearly understood. The passage is Ezek. 29:17–20, delivered about the first day of April, in the year 570 B. C. Fifteen years before that, as is recorded in the twenty-sixth chapter, Ezekiel had predicted that Tyre should be completely destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. For some

reason which does not appear, that was not the final purpose of God, and, without regret or apology, Ezekiel, as is recorded in the twenty-ninth chapter, tells us of the failure of Nebuchadnezzar to capture Tyre, and promises him the land of Egypt in place of it, a promise fulfilled in the misfortunes suffered by Egypt in the same century.

(*b*) We pass to the conditional element in prophecy. This is explained specifically in several Scripture utterances, notably in the eighteenth chapter of Jeremiah. This prophet at the command of Jehovah goes to the potter's house and observes the method followed by the potter with his clay (vss. 2, 3). The vessel intended was spoiled and the potter made another according to his desire (vs. 4). And then Jehovah represents himself to Jeremiah as a potter and the house of Israel as clay (vs. 6), and announces the great doctrine of the conditional in prophecy (vss. 7–11). The same doctrine is taught in the book of Jonah. This prophet preached that Nineveh should be destroyed within three days, and soon afterwards was instructed by Jehovah that the object of the preaching was not the destruction of the city, but the penitence of the inhabitants, and when this was accomplished, there was no need to destroy the city. The most successful warnings of the prophets must necessarily remain unfulfilled, and we may conceive of the joy of many of God's ancient messengers, when their forebodings of evil were not realized, because of the penitence and reformation of the people. Every generation has to be taught this truth. I am not sure but that some of my hearers have felt shocked, at some time or other, at the thought of some divine threat unaccomplished. Jonah was. Jeremiah might have been, had he not observed the potter's wheels under the divine tuition.

This view of prophecy helps us to understand the truth and the error in the old theory of the double sense. According to this theory, many passages refer at one and the same time to distinct events of the age of the writers, and to events no less distinct of the time of our Lord. Excluding typical passages, I suppose that statements which are not riddles on the face of them must be interpreted to mean one thing and not two or

more things. Even in typical passages there is no double sense of language, for the ultimate significance is not expressed by the language, but is contained in the persons, things or events set forth by the language. It is true, of course, that the ancient seers of Israel often employ terms that are out of proportion as respects events to happen in their time, but that they had in mind events of their time or soon to follow, at any rate to grow out of their own historical situation, we cannot deny. Isaiah and Micah, for example, look for the Messiah as an earthly monarch, at the close of the Assyrian supremacy, the author of Daniel looks for him at the fall of Antiochus Epiphanes, and so on. The truth in the theory of the double sense lies, however, in the fact that there is always a complete and unconditional idea at the basis of the prophetical utterance, which ultimately is realized, and this is the reason why we may understand many discourses to imply ideas which were not suggested to the prophetic authors of them.

What is the reality always present in the highest forms of promise? We may not know the whole, but at any rate, blessing for the race, triumph for the kingdom of God, the form of the blessing being conceived of in every age according to the conditions of that age. In the times of Nathan and David and Isaiah and Micah, the theocracy was identical with the Israelitish kingdom. In our time it is the Christian church. Have the predictions of the Hebrew prophets always been fulfilled? Not literally, because the literal prophecy was conditional and subsequent change of circumstances rendered the fulfillment in exact form impossible. Has the great divine idea at the basis of these predictions been fulfilled? Yes, or else it awaits its fulfillment.

The New Testament interpreters of the Old Testament understood well these principles, and when they speak of the fulfilment in the life and character of Jesus Christ of prophecies in which we can see no such plain prediction, we must understand them to refer to those great ideas, lying clearly in the divine mind, but imperfectly grasped by his human spokesmen, and the realization of which was necessarily delayed, because of the failure of Israel to accomplish its mission in the world.

Are all the Messianic ideas of the Old Testament to be realized in the triumphs of the Christian church? I think so, but we must discriminate. Not long since, I heard of a Christian church, not a thousand miles from here, the leaders of which took occasion to instruct their pastor not to call upon them for the exercise of their gifts in practical religious work, that he had been called to furnish them intellectual and spiritual refreshment Sunday mornings, that, if he chose, he could engage in special effort for the lowly and the sinful, and they were perfectly willing to furnish the money for the enterprise, but that was the end of the matter, and he must not expect from them any help of a personal sort. I do not know how far a church might go in this direction without losing its character as a branch of the kingdom of God. Should some great apostasy of the entire church render it an unfit medium of the grace of God, we must believe that the saving purpose of our Father would continue the same, the final form which the kingdom shall assume being made dependent by him upon the fidelity of his friends. Let me be more specific. The Jewish church has given way for the Christian church. If we expect the glorious promises of victory made to the former to be realized in substance by the Christian army, then the obligations of the Hebrews must be assumed by Christians, and the warnings given to them cannot be excluded from our inheritance. It is very clear that unless the Christian church be actually engaged in the work of the Redeemer, it cannot hope to have the honor of ushering in the day of his triumph.

And now what is the attitude of Baptists toward new discoveries in theology? It has been, and is, and is to be, blessed be God, that of cordial welcome. Baptists are not over ready to call a theory a fact, or to dignify with the name of discovery the latest phase of critical opinion. They ought not to be so. But from the beginning until now, they have stoutly maintained the supremacy of the Word over all the creeds and formulas of men, they have professed to expect new light to break forth from its pages, and they have tried to set their faces as steadily and serenely toward the new light as toward the old. Do you realize, brethren, what an advantage we have in the fact that the

Head of the church has prevented us from setting the obstacles of creeds and councils and fathers between the sons of God and their Father in Heaven; from rendering the Word of God of none effect through the traditions of men? How great is our heritage, Baptist Brotherhood!

We may cherish this one thought. It is that no position we may take toward the truth of God can prevent its ultimate triumph in unclouded purity. Neither our blind zeal for cherished forms of statement, nor our rash adoption of different forms of statement can affect the truth itself, which God will bring to light in his own best time. It is well for us now and then anew to pledge ourselves that, in face of difficulties, we will strive to ascertain the message of the Lord, and that we will receive gratefully those elements of knowledge that will surely come to studious and docile minds, and that, with the blessing of God, may lead to a higher life in him and a larger activity in his kingdom.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

II. The Methods of His Teaching.

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The synoptic Gospels the most satisfactory source.—Teaching popular in style,—use of examples,—of action,—of comparisons,—of the parable.—Parable defined,—"parable-germs" and parable-stories.—The parable as distinguishea from the fable,—the myth,—the proverb,—the allegory.—Interpretation.—The allegorical method and its absurdities.—A sound general principle.—The usual subject of the parable.

We can, no doubt, best determine what were the methods of Jesus' teaching by studying the tradition of his words which has been preserved in the synoptic Gospels. We must, I think, concede that in the fourth Gospel the form of the teaching has been much modified by the writer's reflection. This supposition does not affect the substantial trustworthiness of the representation of Jesus' teaching there given, but concerns rather the conception which we are to entertain of its form and method.[1]

Looking, then, at the sayings of Jesus as presented in the first three Gospels, we observe, in the first place, that his teaching was popular in style. It was largely embodied in pithy, pointed sayings which were designed and adapted to impress the popular mind. He taught rather by suggestion than by presenting a full and systematic view of any subject. It is unlikely that the long discourses which are reported in the Gospels were, in all cases, spoken at one time. In the preservation of his teaching in oral and written tradition it would naturally happen that sayings which were kindred would be joined together, even if spoken at different times. This would happen the more easily because in many cases it could not be known when some of the words that had been preserved were uttered.

[1] The method of Jesus' teaching is fully discussed in Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, Vol. I., pp. 106–151 and in the introductory chapters of Trench's work on the Parables.

It is almost demonstrable that something like this has happened in what we call the sermon on the mount. A considerable part of the discourse (especially of its later portion) is found in different places in the gospel of Luke—and found in definite historic situations which are particularly described. It seems, therefore, almost certain that the sermon on the mount, though in the main one discourse, includes many sayings which were spoken at different times.

Our Lord frequently taught by the use of examples. Several illustrations are found in Matt. 5. He there explains the nature of true righteousness by citing examples, either from the Old Testament or from Rabbinic teaching, of maxims which were either imperfect or inadequate in themselves, or were imperfectly or erroneously applied by the people. Other instances of teaching by example are found in the narrative of the man who was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers (Luke 10:30 *sq.*), the story of the rich man whose ground brought forth plentifully and who said to his soul: "Take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry" (Luke 12:16 *sq.*), in the account of the Pharisee and the Publican praying in the temple (Luke 18:10 *sq.*), and in the casting into the Temple treasury of the two mites by the poor widow (Mark 12:41 *sq.*). All these are examples of events which either actually happened or which might naturally happen. Some of them may be parables but they are so life-like that they may well be narratives of actual events.

Jesus sometimes taught by action, as when he took a child in his arms in order to emphasize the necessity of childlikeness in those who would be members of his kingdom (Mark 9:33 *sq.*). Another impressive example of this method of teaching is found in the narrative of his washing the disciples' feet as an object-lesson in humility (John 13:12 *sq.*). The cursing of the barren fig tree (Mark 11:13 *sq.*) may be called a parable in action on account of the somewhat dramatic and didactic character of the event.

Another of the methods of Jesus was the use of comparisons. He says, for example, that one must receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child (Mark 10:15), and he depicts his own

affection for the sacred city, Jerusalem, by saying: "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her own brood under her wings" (Luke 13:34).

But of all the methods of teaching which Jesus employed his use of the parable is the most interesting. A parable is a narrative of some real or imaginary event in nature or in common life, which is adapted to suggest a moral or religious truth. The parable rests upon some correspondence, more or less exact, between events in nature or in human experience and the truths of religion. Wendt distinguishes two classes of parables, (1) those in which some fact in the actual world is adduced as illustrating a moral or religious principle, and, (2) those in which some imagined event—which might naturally happen—is narrated to illustrate a spiritual truth or process. Examples of the former sort of parables are: "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick" (Mark 2:17); "Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?" (Mark 2:19); and the sayings about the sewing of undressed cloth upon an old garment (Mark 2:21), about the division of a kingdom against itself (Mark 3:24), and about the putting of the lamp under the bushel, or under the bed, instead of upon the lamp stand (Mark 4:21). In John also this species of parable is found, as in 3:8 and in 12:24.

These forms of teaching are brief, undeveloped parables; they have been sometimes called "parable-germs." They are not elaborated into a narrative or story, but are succinct statements of natural events or customs which readily suggest some religious fact or principle. In popular usage these "parable-germs" are not generally spoken of as parables at all; but it is evident that they really come under that designation, and they are sometimes so called in the New Testament (*e. g.*, in Mark 3:23).

It is the second class of parables—the parable-stories—which excite the most interest in the New Testament student. No parts of the Bible are more familiar to us, and I need only mention the parable of the sower (Mark 4:3 *sq.*), that of the vineyard (Matt. 21:28 *sq.*), and that of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11 *sq.*) in illustration.

The nature of the parable can, perhaps, be best illustrated by comparing it briefly with some other figurative forms of speech. The difference between the parable and the *fable* is readily observed. The fable moves on a lower plane. It is less serious and dignified, both in its choice of material and in the lesson which it aims to teach. One need but recall the fables of Æsop in illustration. They are mainly constructed out of impossible transactions and conversations of animals. The lessons which they teach are, for the most part, lessons of prudential morality. The parable, on the other hand—at least, as Jesus uses it—is devoted to teaching the highest kind of spiritual truths. Moreover, it is constructed of what I may call natural materials, events which either happen in nature or life, or circumstances which might, at any rate, occur without the least violation of reason or nature. The fable, then, is a product of free fancy teaching a prudential lesson; the parable is a natural narrative teaching some deep moral or religious principle.

Even more widely does the parable differ from the *myth*. Let the reader recall the myths of the Homeric poems, the fanciful stories of gods and heroes which constituted the early literature of the Greeks. When we read them in our youth we often wondered whether they were all true, or all false, or half true and half false. In the myth the truth intended to be conveyed and the story employed to convey it are identified. The myth has on the guise of truth. It offers itself to us as the truth and affords us no ready means of distinguishing between its form and its substance, as respects its truthfulness. In the myth the fancy loses the truth in its own creations. The parable, on the contrary, carefully preserves the distinction between its form, the parable story, and its essence, the spiritual truth intended to be illustrated. Although both the myth and the parable are forms of fiction, they differ very widely since the myth is far removed from our common human nature and reason, while the parable keeps close to them.

The *proverb* differs from the parable, as a rule, in being briefer. The proverb commonly relates to custom and to practical wisdom, and seldom deals with truths which are distinctly religious. The

proverb may, however, be figurative or parabolic in form and capable of being elaborated into a parable. Such a proverb is seen in the words: "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." A parable might certainly be constructed by developing in a story form the idea of one blind man leading another, in such a way as to teach the importance of seeking trustworthy guidance in life and duty.

The *allegory* is the form of speech which most closely resembles the parable. The narrative about the door of the sheepfold in John 10 is often called a parable, often an allegory. I suppose it is properly called an allegory because the allegory identifies the symbol and the thing signified: "I *am* the door; I *am* the true vine." The parable, on the other hand, keeps these distinct. If a parable were to be made out of the materials of the allegories just referred to, there would be some narrative about the door and the sheep or about the vine and the branches, suggestive of some religious truth, which would, however, be quite distinct from the parable-story. The allegory hides the truth in the figurative form; the parable suggests it. Trench illustrates the difference by saying that, "Behold the Lamb of God" is allegorical, because Christ is *identified* with the Lamb, while "Brought as a Lamb to the slaughter" is parabolical, because it is a *comparison* and not an identification. It will thus be seen that an allegory needs no interpretation, since it carries its meaning on its surface, whereas the meaning of a parable, being only *suggested*, may be more or less evident.

I will conclude this comparison of the parable with other figurative forms of speech in the words of Trench, to whose discussion I am mainly indebted: "To sum up all, then, the parable differs from the fable, moving as it does in a spiritual world, and never transgressing the actual order of things natural—from the *mythus*, there being in the latter an unconscious blending of the deeper meaning with the outward symbol, while the two remain separate and separable in the parable—from the proverb, inasmuch as it is more fully carried out, and not accidentally and occasionally, but necessarily figurative—from the allegory, comparing as it does one thing *with* another, but at the same time preserving

them apart as an inner and an outer, and not transferring, as does the allegory, the properties and qualities and relations of one *to* the other."

Something may next be said of the interpretation of the parables. The most diverse methods have been employed among scholars in seeking their meaning, and, I suppose, a great variety of results would be derived from the parables in popular, practical Christian teaching. The commonest error of interpreters is to apply the "allegorical" method to the parables, that is, to seek to find some special and distinct meaning in each detail of the parable-story. To some of the parables this method can be applied with fairly plausible results, either because the parable is so simple or compact in character that it makes one indivisible picture, or because the analogy used happens to be especially complete and many-sided. In other cases, however, this method breaks down entirely. Take, for example, the parable of the rich man and the steward in Luke 16: 1 *sq.* Whom does the rich man represent? Some say *God;* others, the *Romans;* others, *mammon;* still others, *the devil*, and these are but a few of the answers that have been given. Who is the steward? We find a similar variety of answers: *the wealthy*, *the Israelitish people*, *sinners*, and even *Judas Iscariot.*

It is obvious that there could hardly be such wide diversity of opinion as this if there were any test or measure for determining the meaning of these terms. The truth is that it makes no difference who the rich man is or who the steward is. They represent no particular persons; that is, the point of the parable does not depend at all upon finding a counterpart for these persons. They are necessary to the parable-story, but the meaning of the parable turns on what the steward *says*, and not on who he *is*. He may be anybody, and his master may be anybody; it is the *action*, and not the *personnel* of the parable which contains its lesson. That this is so is seen from the eighth and ninth verses. The shrewdness of the steward's action may teach a wholesome lesson in the right use of wealth, although the dishonesty of his method cannot be commended.

There is no limit to the absurdities which have been drawn

from the parables by trying to make every character which is introduced into them represent some particular person in the application. Thus the servant who owed ten thousand talents (Matt. 18:23) has been held to be the Pope of Rome and the whole parable has been treated as a prophetic representation of mediæval history. Whom do the ten virgins represent? Who is the merchant seeking goodly pearls? Who is the woman who puts the leaven in the meal, and who is the one who sweeps the house in search of the lost piece of money? No answers need be sought to such questions. The force of the parables just alluded to depends upon the principle which the action described illustrates.

Let the reader test for himself the applicability of the allegorical method by trying it in the case of the parable of the unjust judge (Luke 18:2 *sq.*). Who is the judge? He cannot be God, for he is an unjust judge, who neither fears God nor regards man. Who is the widow? She cannot represent the Christian in prayer, for she is a troublesome and shameless person who threatens the judge with personal violence (see the margin of the Revised Version on the fifth verse) in case he does not grant her request. It will be found that we have here a picture which is designed to teach by the contrast of the two situations the certainty that prayer will be answered. If an unjust judge, all whose qualities are the very opposite of the character of God, at length grants the persistent applicant her request, not from any interest in her case—for he neither fears God nor regards man—but solely to escape further annoyance or danger, how much more will the gracious and loving God, our Father, grant the earnest requests of his children! This is an example of a parable which is constructed more upon a contrast than upon a resemblance. To what absurdity, then, would the effort to treat the terms as having a spiritual parallel lead.

A sound general principle for the interpretation of the parable is that it is intended to teach one single truth. The parallel between the story which embodies this truth and its spiritual counterpart may be more or less complete. The point of the teaching may lie in the whole picture which the parable presents,

or it may lie in some single aspect or element of the picture. No rule for accurately measuring the range of the correspondence can be laid down. The parable of the prodigal son and that of the sower are examples of parables whose significance is found in the entire picture which they present. No violence is therefore done in assigning a didactic value in interpretation even to the details of the parable-story; in fact we find that our Lord himself does this in explaining the import of the parable of the sower.

The general subject with which the parables most commonly deal is the kingdom of God. The numerous parables which comprise the thirteenth chapter of Matthew are good illustrations. Sometimes the parables seem to go together in pairs, teaching two closely related aspects of the same general truth. Examples are found in the parables of the mustard seed and of the leaven (Luke 13:18–21), in the parabolic sayings about the piece of undressed cloth and the new wine (Mark 2:21, 22), and in the kindred but distinguishable allegories of the door of the sheepfold (John 10:1–10), and of the good shepherd (John 10:11–18).

From these illustrations of the methods of Jesus in teaching we gain some impression of the real simplicity, concreteness and pointedness of his instruction. It is not strange that the multitudes, who had been accustomed to the subtleties and sophistries of the scribes, "were astonished at his teaching" (Matt. 7:28).

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

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II.

The author's use of the Old Testament: angels, numbers, symbolism.—Relation to other Jewish apocalyptic literature: Book of Enoch; Fourth Ezra —Conclusion.

We are to consider, first, the way in which the Apocalypse uses the Old Testament. In the introduction (1:1–3) the author represents the Apocalypse as communicated through the angel of Christ. This resembles Scripture usage, and again differs from it. It was a common thing for angels to bring messages to men, and in the book of Daniel the angel Gabriel is sent to make Daniel understand the vision which he had received (8:16; 9:21); but there is not in all Scripture anything which is similar to the function of the angel of the Apocalypse. For he is said to mediate the entire Apocalypse, and yet he does not once appear in it. Not only so, but in the Apocalypse various beings—divine, angelic, demonic, human and purely imaginative—speak and act; thus John hears God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the elders, the four living creatures, men on earth, an eagle, angels, and the redeemed. The representation is that all these diverse visions are mediated by the angel. How this mediation is to be understood, I do not here inquire; but only call attention to the fact that this function of the angel is unique.

The author's use of numbers, while having its basis in Scripture, has its own peculiarities. First, numbers have here an importance far transcending that which they have in any other biblical book. They are used in greater variety and with greater frequency. They are used to set forth prominent ideas, even attributes of the divine Being. They modify the structure of the Apocalypse, as is seen, for example, in its consisting of seven

visions, and in the seven-fold character of several of these visions; and numbers are often in mind even when not mentioned, as in the *three*-fold ascription to the Father (4:11), the *seven*-fold ascription to Christ (5:12), and the *four*-fold ascription to Father and Son together (5:13); also in the *four*-fold designation "tribe, tongue, people and nation (5:9, 7:9, etc.). Peculiar to the Apocalypse is also the use of multiples and fractions of one and the same number. Thus it has 10, $\frac{1}{10}$, and 1000; 12, 24, 144, 12,000 and 144,000.

The author's free and original way of using Old Testament symbolism may be sufficiently illustrated by the examination of a few passages. Take the vision of one like a son of man in the first chapter. The seven golden candles among which he stands, symbolizing seven churches, according to the author (1:20), though perhaps suggested by the Lord's words to his disciples that they were the light of the world (Matt. 5:14–16), are an original figure. The peculiar designation of Christ as one like a son of man, found in the New Testament only here and in chapter 14:14, is taken from Daniel's vision of the four beasts (7:13), where it describes the coming King. The golden girdle is a feature borrowed from the unnamed angel of Daniel, 10:5, 6, though its position at the breast is unlike that of the angel. The hair white as wool and snow is a part of Daniel's description of the Ancient of Days, and thus the author ascribes to Christ the attribute of eternity. The eyes of fire and the feet of brass are like the eyes and feet of that angel who brought the revelation to Daniel (chap. 10). The voice as the voice of many waters is like the voice of the God of Israel, which Ezekiel heard (Ezek. 43:2). The symbol of stars for the angels or pastors of the churches is original with John, as is also the fact that Christ holds the seven stars in his right hand. The sharp two-edged sword out of the mouth is based upon such figures as that of the Psalmist when he says that the words of his enemy are *drawn swords* (Ps. 55:21), and that the tongue of his enemy is a *sword* (Ps. 57:4). The prophets also speak of Jehovah as slaying his foes by the word of his mouth, and say that his tongue is a devouring flame (Hos. 6:5; Isa. 30:27). The appearance of Christ

is described in a figure which is found in the song of Deborah (Judges 5:31), "It is as the sun shines in its strength." John fell at the feet of this glorious Person as Daniel had fallen at the feet of the angel (Dan. 10:8). The reassuring word of Christ unto him — "I am the first and I am the last" — is also the word of Jehovah to Isaiah (44:6). The keys of death and Hades, which Christ says he has, are an original symbol.

Thus in his description of the Lord, as seen in a vision, John uses figures drawn from various sources and applied originally to various beings. The entire picture, however, surpasses any of the passages from which its materials are drawn.

Again, let us take the symbol of the four living creatures (4:6–8). These beings have features from the cherubim of Ezekiel, and also from the seraphim of Isaiah (Ezek. 1:5, 10; Isa. 6:2–3), but they are far simpler than the cherubim. For instance, they are full of eyes before, behind, and under their wings; while in the case of the cherubim Ezekiel specifies that their bodies, backs, hands and wings are full of eyes. Again, each of the cherubim had four faces, while each living creature had but one. Ezekiel describes the feet and the color of his cherubim, but these points are not touched by John. The old prophet also describes the motion of the cherubim, how when they went every one went straight forward: whither the spirit was to go they went; they turned not when they went, etc. The Apocalypse has none of these details. The living creatures of the Apocalypse have each six wings, like the seraphim of Isaiah, while the cherubim have but four (Ezek. 1:6). The ceaseless adoration of the living creatures finds expression in part in the words of the seraphim of Isaiah. Thus it seems plain that John treated both the seraphim and the cherubim as pure symbols, and in constructing his symbol of the living creatures he borrowed freely from both.

Another significant passage is that which describes the content of the sixth seal (6:12–17). This is made up almost entirely of Old Testament symbolism, and yet there is no passage in the Old Testament which compares with this in terrific grandeur. In the first place, it is altogether original that these

cosmical and human scenes which herald the consummation are represented as coming out of the seven-sealed book. As to the separate heavenly signs, all are found in the prophets in connection with the judgments of Jehovah save one, namely, the removal of every island out of its place; but some are modified in the Apocalypse. Thus the sun becomes black *as sack-cloth of hair*, and the stars fall *as a fig-tree casts its unripe figs when stirred by a great wind.* The conduct of man in view of the divine wrath is also set forth chiefly in Old Testament symbols. Thus men seek refuge in caves and rocks, and say unto the mountains, "Cover us," and to the hills, "Fall on us" (Isa. 2:19; Hos. 10:8). But the enumeration of the ranks and classes of men — kings and magnates, captains, the rich, the mighty, the bond and the free — is an addition by John. In the latter part of the scene the prayer to be hidden from the wrath of the Lamb is new, and of course could be spoken only from the Christian point of view.

Again, take the vision of the beast out of the sea (13:1–8). It was doubtless suggested by the vision of Daniel, and has much in common with that, but it is also singularly unlike it. Daniel saw four great beasts come up out of the sea; John sees but one. This one, however, is a composite creature, made up of features of all the four beasts in Daniel. Thus it is like a leopard, has the feet of a bear, the mouth of a lion, and has ten horns. The motive that guided in the selection of these parts seems to have been the desire to make a monster that would exemplify in the highest degree the quality of destructiveness. It must certainly be admitted that this is an original method of dealing with the Danielian symbol. Furthermore, here, also, as in the case of the cherubim, the simplification of the Old Testament symbol is remarkable. One of Daniel's beasts had eagle's wings and two feet as a man. Another had four wings on its back and four heads. Another had great iron teeth, and still another had three ribs in its mouth. All these details are dropped by John. He selects from the description of Daniel that which suits his purpose.

The scene in 19:11–16 illustrates how old materials are used by the author of the Apocalypse to form new and won-

drous pictures. John saw the heaven opened as Ezekiel had seen it (1:1). The white horse, while prefiguring the victory of the rider, is new with the author. Eyes as a flame of fire point back to the initial vision in chapter 1. The many diadems on the head to set forth the idea that the bearer reigned over many kingdoms, is original. The thought that Christ has a name unknown to all but himself is also peculiar to the author. The garment sprinkled with blood is probably borrowed from Isaiah's picture of Jehovah coming from Edom, "with dyed garments from Bozrah," the life-blood of his enemies being sprinkled upon his garments (Isa. 63:1–3). The name of the rider, the Logos, is found elsewhere only in the Gospel and First Epistle of John. A heavenly army is referred to by Daniel (4:35), but it is new with the author of the Apocalypse to represent the members of this army as seated on white horses and clothed in clean white linen. The sharp sword out of the mouth is a feature from the vision of Christ in the first chapter, and the fact that the rider shepherds the nations with an iron rod is from the second Psalm. Though Christ goes forth as a mounted warrior, he yet treads the winepress of the wrath of God, a symbol from Isaiah (63:3). The name "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," which is applied to God in 1 Tim. 6:5, is here given to Christ, and, what is original, is placed on the garment at the thigh. This vision, therefore, of Christ and the armies of heaven riding forth in mid air, though embodying symbols from Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah, the second Psalm, and perhaps also from 1 Timothy, is in its entirety, as also in many of the details, original, a creation of John's imagination.

As a final illustration, we may take the picture of the new Jerusalem in chapter 21. Notice the elements that are old and those that are new. The conception of a heavenly Jerusalem was old. We find it in Paul (Gal. 4:26) and in Hebrews (11:10–16; 12:22), adumbrated also in the Old Testament (Isa. 65:17). The conception of its descent out of heaven upon the earth is new. The comparison of its light with that of a crystal jasper is also new. The twelves gates bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, three gates to each point of the

compass, are from Ezekiel (48:31). The twelve foundations, on the other hand, bearing the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, are new. Ezekiel measured his city with a reed; John sees an angel measure the new Jerusalem with a golden reed. Ezekiel's city is square; John's a cube. Ezekiel's city is 18,000 reeds in circuit; John's is 48,000. It is to be noticed here that in John's description the number twelve, which is the number of the people of God, appears as the unit of all the numbers. Thus the wall is 144 cubits high, and each of the three dimensions of the city is 12,000 cubits. Further, it is new in John's picture that the city seen is of pure gold and its street of gold like transparent glass. New also that each of the foundations is a precious stone, and that the city has no temple. The author borrows from Isaiah the figure of the city as lighted by Jehovah (60:19), but adds the feature that the Lamb is the lamp of it. Nations walking in the light of the city, kings bringing their glory into it, the gates open night and day, the fact that nothing unclean can enter into it, and no person whose name is not written in the book of life, these all are borrowed features.

The passages which have been analyzed may suffice to show how the author of the Apocalypse uses Old Testament symbolism. He modifies the old with freedom, and blends with it much that is wholly new. He combines the old elements to form pictures which, while they have sacred associations with ancient Jewish history, are yet largely original. It may be noticed in this connection that he employs these Old Testament symbols in essential harmony with their original use. His beast out of the sea belongs to the same genus with the beast of Daniel. The day of Jehovah, which the Old Testament prophets heralded by dread signs in heaven and on earth, is in line with the final day in the Apocalypse, in the description of whose approach it combines most of the ancient symbols. As the cherubim of Ezekiel and the seraphim of Isaiah belong in the vision of Jehovah, and are his servants, so the living creatures in the Apocalypse are a ministering element in the sublime vision of God. In like manner the new Jerusalem of John is the consummation of the dream of Isaiah, the same essential ideal, but

more clearly seen in the light that came from the face of Jesus Christ. It must not be supposed that John uses these Old Testament symbols because they are in themselves forcible and beautiful; he uses them because they are to him vehicles of that divine revelation of the consummation of the Messianic kingdom of which he feels himself called to be a seer. They preserve with him all their ancient meaning, and receive also new meaning as they take their place in the new Christian environment. He does not choose and use them primarily as a literary man, but as one charged with a sublime revelation. He gathers them up as scattered gleams of the divine will in regard to the struggle between the people of God and the adversaries, and in regard especially to the outcome of that struggle, and he combines them with each other and with his own later and more developed thought to produce the final picture of the *parousia* of Jehovah in Jesus Christ, which forms the transition from the conflicts of earth to the peace and glory of the perfected Messianic kingdom.

It remains to consider the literary dependence, if there be any, of the Apocalypse upon the non-canonical Jewish writings of an apocalyptic character. Of these the only ones which are certainly older than the Apocalypse and which have in their symbolism anything in common with it, are the Book of Enoch and Fourth Ezra. The apocalypse of Baruch was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and is to be regarded as having borrowed from the Apocalypse rather than as having contributed to it. Some of the symbols which they have in common were doubtless drawn by each from the Old Testament, independently of one another. Thus their use of manna as a reward of the redeemed (Bar. 29:8; Apoc. 2:17); their employment of an eagle as a messenger (Bar. 77:19; Apoc. 8:13); the blending of angels and stars (Bar. 51:10. Apoc. 9:1); and the existence of a heavenly Jerusalem (Bar. 4:3; Apoc. 21:2). As to the symbols which are not plainly based on the Old Testament, Baruch has nothing which we are justified in saying that the author of the Apocalypse borrowed. It is antecedently improbable that a great creative mind like that of the author of the

Apocalypse should have borrowed from a third-rate writing like the apocalypse of Baruch, which left no trace on Christian literature with the single exception of Papias.

The only writings therefore which come into serious account are the Book of Enoch and Fourth Ezra. The Book of Enoch was highly esteemed in the early church and widely circulated. It draws largely from the Old Testament and contains some passages of a lofty character. It is not at all improbable that the author of the Apocalypse was acquainted with it, even as was the author of Jude. But if so, he was not deeply influenced by it. There is but one symbol in the Apocalypse that can with any likelihood be traced to the Book of Enoch. In the 14th chapter of the Apocalypse we read that "the winepress was trodden without the city, and there came out blood from the winepress *even unto the bridles of the horses*, as far as a thousand and six hundred furlongs." Enoch in describing days of vengeance on the wicked says: "And a horse will walk up to his breast in the blood of the sinners, and a wagon will sink in to its height." There are many symbols in Enoch which are found in the Apocalypse, but they are all taken from the Old Testament. John does not follow Enoch in his adaptation of Old Testament symbolism, but as we have seen makes an original use of it. Thus, for example, while Enoch speaks of *God* as having a "head of days," "white like wool" (46:1), John applies this language to Christ. So Enoch speaks of a tree of life on *earth* (24:42–57) which gives long life to the righteous on *earth*; while in the Apocalypse the tree of life is in the paradise of God, in the new Jerusalem (2:7). Enoch speaks of beings who praise God, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of the spirits fills the earth with spirits" (Enoch 39:12). John in the corresponding passage does not follow the Old Testament, neither does he follow Enoch (Apoc. 4:8).

In no passage does the Apocalypse follow that modification of Old Testament symbolism which is found in Enoch; and as for that which is not immediately based on the Old Testament, it has left no trace on the Apocalypse unless the figure cited above be an exception.

Old Testament symbolism regarding the Messianic future is lowered in the Book of Enoch, while in the Apocalypse it is exalted. From the simplicity of the Apocalypse, from its unity of purpose and structure, from its grandeur and climactic movement, the Book of Enoch is far removed.

There is far less likelihood that the author of the Apocalypse was acquainted with Fourth Ezra. The common critical view is that this book was written toward the close of the first century, between 81 and 96 A.D. If, then, the modern view regarding the date of composition of the Apocalypse were correct, which puts it before the destruction of Jerusalem, the question of any influence of Fourth Ezra upon it would be settled. But holding that the Apocalypse was written toward the close of the reign of Domitian, *i. e.*, about contemporaneously with Fourth Ezra, the question of any influence of the latter on the former is still not difficult. There is, first, no single point where the symbolism of the Apocalypse in its departure from the Old Testament follows Ezra, and, second, there is no single point where the symbolism of the Apocalypse which is not based on the Old Testament shows any trace of the influence of Ezra. Ezra has ideas and symbols in common with the Apocalypse, as is natural in view of the theme of his writing and in view of his relation to the Old Testament, and yet the difference between the two writings is surely as great as that between the synoptic Gospels and the best of the apocryphal gospels. The Apocalypse belongs among the most creative works of literature; Fourth Ezra has little that can be called original.

In conclusion, we may sum up briefly as follows: First, there is in the Apocalypse both in its structure and especially in its symbolism a remarkably large element which is, as far as we can say at present, purely original; second, there is a large element in its symbolism that is grounded more or less directly upon the symbolism and the significant events of Scripture, and this element also shows the originality of the author's mind in that he has freely modified, re-adapted and frequently exalted the Old Testament symbolism; and, third, of the non-canonical Jewish writings of an apocalyptic character no one, unless it be the Book

of Enoch, had any appreciable influence upon the Apocalypse, and that has left at the most only a single incidental trace.

Regarded simply as a literary production, the Apocalypse must be allowed a place among the most original and consummate portions of the Bible, which is equivalent to saying that it must be allowed a place among the most original and consummate productions of human literature, for the Bible even from a literary point of view is certainly the crown of all that men have said or sung.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE PHILOLOGICAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA.

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Philadelphia.

This congress was in many respects a notable gathering. Whether we consider the societies represented, the distinguished men present, the high character of the papers read, every scholar and student can but be glad that such a meeting has been held. The readers of The Biblical World will of course be chiefly interested in that part of this congress which concerned itself with biblical study, and that shall be dealt with presently. One of the lessons impressed anew by this assemblage was that no branch of scientific research can really be isolated, since all have a common method, and to a certain extent a common aim. It seems advisable, therefore, that some general account of the congress itself should be given before taking up one special feature.

The organizations participating in the congress were the American Oriental Society, organized in 1842, President Daniel C. Gilman, president; the American Philological Association, organized in 1869, Professor John Henry Wright of Harvard University, president; the Modern Language Association of America, organized in 1883, Professor A. Marshall Elliott of Johns Hopkins University, president; the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, organized in 1883, Professor J. Henry Thayer of Harvard University, president; the American Dialect Society, organized in 1888, Professor Edward S. Sheldon of Harvard University, president; the Spelling Reform Association, organized in 1876, Professor Francis A. March of Lafayette College, president; and the Archæological Institute of America, organized in 1879, President Seth Low of Columbia College, president. All of the presidents except the last named were in their respective chairs, most of the other officers were at their various posts of duty, and there was in all of the societies an unusually large attendance.

These societies have been meeting regularly, some of them for many years, but this is the first time they have met at the same time and place. The occasion of their coming together at this time was the most notable thing about the congress. This was to do honor to the memory of America's greatest scholar, who was interested deeply in the work of all, and who was for many years the mainstay of at least one — the Oriental Society — the late Professor William Dwight Whitney, who brought lustre not only to Yale University but to all American scholarship.

On Friday evening, December 28, a joint meeting was held in the library of the University of Pennsylvania, to commemorate his life and work. The main address at this meeting was made by Professor Charles R. Lanman of Harvard, once a favorite pupil of Professor Whitney's, afterwards his friend and co-worker. This address was so complete and happy that it is hoped it will be given to the public. Professor Lanman not only gave an interesting account of the life of this great scholar, but also a clear presentation of his great contributions to linguistic study. Addresses were also made at this meeting by President Gilman, Professor March, Dr. Ward, Professor Perrin, Professor Manatt, and several letters from foreign scholars were read by Professor Lyon. Professor Whitney's special field was Indianology, but he did much to further the scientific study of language generally, and no one should attempt linguistic study without first mastering his most popular and widely read book, "Language and the Study of Language." One short paragraph from Professor Lanman's address may be quoted here: "Breadth and thoroughness are ever at war with each other in men, for men are finite. The gift of both in large measure and at once—this marks the man of genius. That the gift was Whitney's is clear to anyone who considers the versatility of his mind, the variousness of his work, and the quality of his results. As professor of Sanskrit, technical work in grammar, lexicography, text criticism, and the like, lay nearest to him; but with all this he still found strength to illuminate by his insight many questions of general linguistic theory, the origin of language, phonetics, the difficult subject of Hindu astronomy, and the question of its derivation, the method and technique of translation, the science of religion, mythology, linguistic ethnology, alphabetics and palæography and much else." His zeal as a student was impressed indelibly upon the audience by the fact related that when studying in Germany he told his landlady that he would work an hour less on a particular day because it was the Fourth of July. To those who knew him this was also the strongest evidence of his intense patriotism. But we cannot linger upon this attractive theme.

The University of Pennsylvania opened its hospitable doors to the congress, and spared no pains to make every provision for the comfort and convenience of the societies present. Philadelphia also did much towards the pleasure of the visitors, as a number of receptions and a tea to the ladies brought the various members into social intercourse, and made possible many pleasant acquaintances. Great credit is due to the local committee for the thoroughness with which all arrangements were made, and especially for the complete programmes provided. The genius of the committee was in its chairman, Mr. Talcott Williams, to whose skill in affairs and tireless energy many happy features were due. The local secretary, Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., proved an efficient lieutenant, and especially did much to ensure the success of the Whitney memorial meeting.

The general plan was to hold joint sessions and separate sessions. The opening session was a joint one, at which Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of

the University, made a few fitting remarks characteristic of his modesty and of his appreciative insight into things which he approaches as a layman. The address of welcome was made by the famous Shakespearean scholar, of whom Philadelphia is so justly proud, Dr. Horace Howard Furness. This address was so bright and so full of the occasion that we all felt that only Dr. Furness could have made it.

On the afternoon of the same day each society held a separate session, at which papers were read and discussed, and the regular business attended to as usual. On the second day a joint session was held, this plan being new in the experience of these societies. Nine papers were presented from members of the various bodies, and opportunity for questions and discussion given. These papers were not especially prepared for the joint meeting, but were selected by the various secretaries from those offered for reading in the regular meetings. The aim was, of course, to select such as would be of most general interest. This task was a difficult one, for a subject may appear very attractive, but the treatment of it may be quite devoid of interest, and it should be said on behalf of the secretaries that they had only the titles to judge by: it may be added, that, with a few exceptions, the selections were good. It was different from catering to the popular taste and limitations, inasmuch as most of those present were scholars of broad and also special culture, and quite able to appreciate good things in other fields than their own. One result of this session was to make all feel that they were working in a common field, although the field is a very wide one, and that there is such a thing as a brotherhood of scholars. Each one loves his chosen sphere best, of course, but by communing in thought with his fellows he learns anew how many spheres there are, and yet how closely linked together.

Professor Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, opened the session with a masterly account of the latest results of the Babylonian expedition, which has conducted excavations at Nippur for the past five years, and has attained some remarkable and revolutionary results. Professor Hilprecht has not only worked over the valuable collection brought to the University, but has spent two summers in Constantinople working at the finds of the expedition which remain there. Dr. Peters, who was for the first two years the able director of the expedition, and who played an important rôle in its organization, followed with some account of the work now going on, and of the temple which was found. It is to be hoped that Dr. Peters' volume, giving a full and official account of the expedition, will soon see the light. Professor William W. Goodwin, of Harvard, read an interesting paper comparing the Athenian *graphé paranomon*, that is, *an indictment for proposing unconstitutional legislation*, with the American doctrine that the courts have power to set aside legislative acts if they conflict with a written constitution. Professor Minton Warren, of Johns Hopkins, read a very bright paper showing how much light the various Latin inscriptions have thrown on the study of the Latin language and literature — a warning to Semitic scholars that they do not alone find

much light and help from recent discovery of the monuments of the past. Professor Sheldon, of Harvard, presented an interesting account of the work done by the American Dialect Society. This paper was particularly welcome to many who before knew but little if anything of the aim or method of investigation of this young but vigorous society. Other papers were read at this joint session, but sufficient has been given to show the character of the meeting, and to justify the statement that it was one of great interest.

At the separate meetings of the Exegetical Society several papers of more than usual interest were read. Professor Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, discussed the meaning of *shēbhĕt sōphēr*, Judges 5 : 14, holding that the common interpretation, the *pen of the scribe*, was the correct one. Professor Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary, argued that Amos did not approve the calf-worship at Bethel. He said that Hosea explicitly condemns it as idolatry so soon after Amos that a new sentiment could not develop in the interim. The silence of Amos about the particular thing was explained as due to his opposition to the whole system of the northern kingdom. Perhaps the most thorough and exhaustive of any of the papers read before the Exegetical Society was that of Professor Schmidt, of Colgate University, on *marán atha*, 1 Cor. 16 : 22. But the paper itself must be read to get any idea of the learning and pains bestowed upon it. Professor Terry, of Garrett Biblical Institute, read a somewhat elaborate essay on the scope and plan of the Apocalypse of John. There was little that was new or original, but it was a stout plea for the traditional view.

At the second separate session Dr. Wright, of Cambridge, best known from his connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund, presented some Messianic interpretations of the Psalms of degrees. Dr. Wright's treatment showed that he is not devoid of poetic sense, and that he is not disturbed by the onsweep of the higher criticism. Dr. Hall, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, gave some interesting notes on the new Syriac Gospels, on which Mrs. Lewis and Professor J. Rendel Harris have been faithfully working a long time, and which have recently appeared in print. Professor Thayer gave an elaborate and learned note on the expression, "thou sayest" of our Lord in answer to his judges, arguing that it did not mean an emphatic *I am*, but simply an admission of a fact stated by another. Rev. B. W. Bacon, the author of some well-known works on the analysis of the Hexateuch, read a paper in which he declared that John 14 was displaced and should be put after chapter 16. The argument was acute and the evidence marshaled strong, so much so, indeed, that several present pronounced themselves convinced. Rev. W. H. Cobb, the efficient secretary of the society, read a paper on his favorite subject — Isaiah 40–66. His paper was little more than a succinct and thorough abstract of Julius Ley's unimportant little book on this subject. Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, offered a critical emendation of a part of 1 Sam. 1 : 23. His suggestion will be intelligible to both the English and Hebrew student, if it is put in English; instead of "only the Lord

establish his word," he would read "only may thy word be established of the Lord."

Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, read an interesting paper in which he held that many of the Hebrew proper names ending in *Jāh* and *Jahû* are not compounds with the divine name, but the *Jah* is simply an ending. He said that Abijah, for example, could not be *the father of Jah*, or *Jah is my father*, since no Semite would put a child in that relation to the deity. He also said that Babylonian names had the same ending in cases where it could not be a divine name.

At the special meetings of the Oriental Society several papers were presented which were interesting and helpful to Bible students. Professor Gottheil gave evidence from some inscriptions — which may be read either as Aramaic or Hebrew, that there was a time when these two languages were much more alike than in the times from which most of the known Aramaic comes, and therefore that many of the peculiarities of biblical Aramaic are not Hebraisms, as has generally been supposed, but are due to the state of the language at the time. Many other articles might be mentioned but it would be little use merely to give a list of their titles, and space would not permit anything more.

One or two more general matters will be mentioned, and then we must close. Usually the daily press has sorry accounts of the discussions of such gatherings. Of course reporters cannot be expected to be specialists in every branch of learning; but through the wise plan of Mr. Williams intelligible reports of many papers were furnished to the public. He had asked the writers of such papers as lent themselves to the treatment, to prepare a short abstract; these abstracts were set up in the office of the *Press*, of which Mr. Williams is the editor, carefully corrected, and copy furnished to the press of the city.

When this plan of meetings of so many societies at the same time was adopted, it was feared that some would suffer in attendance, as those belonging to more than one society could not be in two places at once. On the mailing lists of all the societies there were 2277 names, of which but 314—14 per cent.—occurred more than once. But of those actually in attendance, 122 out of a total of 324—38 per cent.—belonged to more than one, and of these one man belonged to five of these societies. There was, therefore, something to justify this fear. There was compensation, however, in the largely increased attendance at all the societies. It is worthy of note that those who belonged to more than one society are evidently the ones who believe in attending the meetings.

If such simultaneous sessions are held again, as many who were present earnestly hope, it would be desirable to have more rigidly fixed programmes, so that those who do belong to different societies could hear their favorite subjects in each. At the recent meetings the programmes varied so much that this was impossible.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS AND THE BARROWS LECTURESHIP.

Interest in the Parliament of Religions continues to be manifested in almost unabated volume from centers of thought and influence widely separated in place and in theological sympathy. All over the world, among non-Christian leaders and among missionaries, among liberal thinkers and among intense partisans, that gathering continues to be a subject of discussion, renewed and intensified by the publication and distribution of the Report of the Proceedings. It may be disliked and opposed; it cannot be ignored. It has taken its place among the great religious phenomena of our times.

Recently several attacks have been made upon it, some of which have been instigated by the dolorous reports of some missionaries respecting its influence on mission work, and others of which are inspired by what is no doubt a conscientious opposition to the ideas and sentiments which the Parliament embodied. Unfortunately the latter attacks have not always been characterized by justice toward these ideas, either over-emphasizing certain minor elements or ignoring other more important and characteristic ones.

A few of these assaults have been marked by exaggerations, misstatements, much irrelevant material, and silence respecting favorable testimony, so as to produce a distorted and misleading picture and give unbelievers another good opportunity of saying that Christianity is intolerant, bigoted and timid. Such presentations defeat their own object. Defenders of the high and generous ideas of the Parliament can afford to be silent or at most offer a simple protest against ridiculous special pleading and disingenuous inaccuracy. If the work was of God, misrepresentations cannot injure it. If it was not, they are not necessary.

The Reverend Dr. Dennis, one of the secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, speaks in the following statement with no uncertain sound as to the meaning and issues of the Parliament:

There is room, I allow, for misinterpretation and consequent misrepresentation of the intent and significance of such a gathering, but, on the other hand, there was a magnificent and unique opportunity to vindicate Christianity before an attentive world. That Christianity must keep silence and decline to be in evidence upon such an occasion is certainly not in accord with the spirit of Paul at Athens, or the purpose of Christ in founding Christianity and

giving it a message to all men. That Christianity has a right to command is true, but has it not also the right to discuss, compare and persuade? God says even to offending sinners, "Come, let us reason together." I do not understand that Christianity ever resigned the purpose and hope of both influencing and convincing men through the Parliament of Religions. That there was a special measure of courtesy due on such an occasion is manifest, but the Christian religion, while firm and loyal, may ever be courteous in its public discussions.

As regards the influence of the Parliament, I believe it will be for the establishment of Christianity. Its literature has gone to the ends of the earth. I venture to say that to the vast majority of those into whose hands it falls the showing of Christianity will be the subject of special interest and study. An Oriental student while scrutinizing carefully the contribution of his own religion, will find nothing new therein. He will care little for what is said in advocacy of other Oriental faiths. He will study, however, with curiosity and interest what Christian truth has to say for itself. I claim that there never was a more promising opportunity for Christianity to send to the ends of the earth a clear and luminous message charged with a persuasive vindication of its claims and a convincing exposition of its teachings.

That the foreign mission work of Christianity has received a serious blow in the Parliament is either a mistaken and unworthy thought, or it is the empty claim of those who have no sympathy with missions. The judgment which is passed upon the event depends largely upon the point of view. I cannot myself understand how any true missionary can look at it from the point of view which I have indicated, and not wish that it had met with more hearty and universal coöperation for the elucidation and defense of Christian truth. It could have been made even more than it was, an opportunity for strong and loyal testimony for Christianity. It might have been made memorable even to a greater degree, as an occasion for enthusiastic and ringing vindication of the precious truths which our Master has committed to our trust.

The apprehensions of some missionaries are natural and, in part, justifiable. The immediate effect of the Parliament was, in some quarters, unfortunate. Its attitude and results were easily liable to be misinterpreted. Especially was the liberal, generous position of the Christian leaders there thought, on the one hand, by some non-Christians, to be a symptom of the decay of Christianity and, on the other hand, it is regarded by some Christian people as an abandonment of the fundamental principles of the Gospel of Christ,—ideas which will correct themselves when time enough has passed to permit the true perspective of things to be taken.

Meanwhile other voices have been raised among missionaries of equally sound judgment which bear witness to different impressions made by the Parliament. Their voices should also be heard and receive due consideration from the Christian public. Dr. Barrows, in an article printed in *Our Day* has published some of the testimonies which have come to him. Dr. Post of Beirut writes: "I am convinced that the outcome of our Parliament will be for the furtherance of the gospel. We proved that true religion is, always was, always will be, one. . . . Other systems than Christianity cannot afford to point out to their votaries and opponents, as we did, the foibles, shortcomings, sins, hypocrisy, even devilishness of many of their followers. Christianity

must do this because it is, and feels itself to be, a universal faith." Dr. Barrows also states: "My reports from India are that some of the missionaries were vexed by some of the things said at the Parliament, but I have testimonies from a great number of the more enlightened and far seeing missionaries, who are exceedingly grateful for the work which the Parliament did. As the facts concerning the Parliament are more accurately known in India, opinions among Christian missionaries will become more and more favorable." Dr. Washburn of Constantinople says: "I believe that the good influence of it will be more and more manifest as years go on, while the incidental evils will be forgotten." Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D., for twenty years a missionary in India, writes: "I regard the Parliament of Religions as constituting an era in the religious history and progress of the world. Much good has already resulted. More good will result in the future.

From the Reverend J. T. Yokoi, a scholarly Christian minister and teacher of Japan, comes to the Chairman of the Parliament the following testimony respecting its influences and issues in Japan:

"It seems to me from what I have observed in Japan and elsewhere, that the effects of the Parliament have been exceedingly good. . . . I cannot help thinking that the mental horizon of a great many has since been greatly widened, both of those who come from foreign lands and of those in this country, through the sympathetic and cordial meetings they have held together. . . If there have been some misunderstandings of the spirit which animated the Congress, there is all the more reason for the need of such congresses. Truth is the final victor in religion as in everything else. The truths of Christ do not fear comparison with other forms of teaching."

From a thoughtful and deliberate statement from the pen of Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D., of Glasgow, these few sentences are timely:

I do not believe the tendency of the Parliament will be to create doubt as to the utility or need of missions. Superficial people might carry away the impression that it puts all religions on a level. The truth, however, is that it simply gave the religions of the world an opportunity of being compared one with another on their merits. Surely no true Christian should fear the result of such a discussion! If Christianity suffer by comparison, it can be the fault only of its exponents. In that case the sooner they learn the weakness of their method of stating the faith the better. One good result in connection with missions I look for. The Parliament may help to dispel *pessimistic* ideas of ethnic religion, and suggest the desirableness of conducting mission work in the sympathetic spirit of the Pauline thought: God "not far from every one of us." I believe there is room for improvement here.

The following recently prepared statement by Dr. Henry H. Jessup, D.D. of Beirut, will be read with profound interest:

In the Parliament of Religions, Christianity was the hostess of the nations. She welcomed men of all faiths to come and see what the religion of the Bible can do for the individual, for society and the world. She did what no other religion in this age can do or would dare to do. She challenged inspection and criticism at close range. She said to all, "Bring your best and your wisest men, and we will hear them courteously and patiently. Make what

criticisms you please, attack us as you will, and no man shall insult you.' The moral impression of such a scene was prodigious, and it will be lasting. Even the most conceited of Asiatic apostles, when proclaiming in their own lands that America is tired of Christ, and is pining for Gautama Buddha or Confucius, feel in their heart of hearts that Christianity alone wears the golden crown of love to man and God. The best they could say of their own systems was that they were like Christianity, not that Christianity was in any sense inferior.

The missionary work has nothing to fear from anything said or written in the Parliament by the non-Christian members. It is well to know all that can be said by the best non-Christian minds. They are evidently feeling after God, if haply they may find him. But we *know* the moral degradation of the millions in Asia — the worship of the cow, and the degradation of woman. The Hindus, Chinese, Japanese and Arabs well know the superior moral code of Christianity as compared with the abominations, shamelessly practiced without rebuke from their own religious teachers. But we all need to know more of what these non-Christian people think of us, that we may better understand them. Christianity as a system, and Christ as a person, need no apology. But wherein we depart from the spirit of Christ, and the all-embracing love of Christ, we should be modest and humble. The thoughtful Asiatics, while lashing us for national sins, for the rum traffic, the social evil, and un-Christian commercial treaties, admire the celestial purity of Christ, as a person, and Christianity as he taught it. The two volumes of the proceedings of the Parliament will be invaluable to missionaries everywhere. Nowhere else can they find such a conspectus of human religious thought. There are single papers in defense of Christianity which are among our purest and strongest Christian classics. Dr. Schaff's address is apostolic. The whole impression of the Parliament is a challenge from Christianity to the world, in the full consciousness of its heavenly origin, and the certainty of final triumph.

We believe in the unity of the race, and in the unity of the provision for man's salvation. But we need to know our fellow-men, and to get nearer to them, to know what they think, believe, hope, fear and suffer. Whatever brings men together, brings Christianity into contact with non-Christians and truth into contact with error. The Mohammedans, at least, do not think the Parliament a concession to their views, as they have forbidden the introduction of its Proceedings into the Turkish Empire. Missionaries everywhere should study profoundly the non-Christian religions. The Parliament has awakened thought, stimulated investigation, stirred up criticism, aided discussion, given light where light was needed, shown the weakness and impotence of the non-Christian systems, given Christianity an opportunity to show its supreme excellence, and brought the church of Christ face to face with those who were afar off and almost unknown. Christian missions have found new justifications and a new quickening. The highest claim of the other faiths falls far short of an incarnation in order to a redemption. The gospel news is still news by the nations. They have much of proverbial wisdom, and many lofty maxims, but no healing for the sin-stricken soul.

One of the most impressive lessons of the Parliament is the importance of Christian union and coöperation in the foreign mission field. Why perpetuate these non-essential differences in the face of the hundreds of millions of heathens and Mohammedans? Let us show forth the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

Another evidence of the influence of the parliament was the establishment of the Lectureship in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago by a

Christian woman of Chicago, Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell. In the early part of last year she offered the sum of $20,000 for such a lectureship in the University, expressing herself "in hearty agreement with the conviction that the immense interest awakened by the wonderful Parliament of Religions, makes it eminently desirable that the students in the university and the people generally shall be given wise instruction on this most important of all subjects." Later in the year, Dr. Barrows in an address at the University called attention to Mr. Mozoomdar's wish that something of the sort could be done in India, and added, "May not some friend of the University be moved to establish in Calcutta, the chief center of college training in the Asiatic world, a lectureship which shall carry on the good work of enlightenment and fraternity begun by the recent Parliament of Religions?" The response to his question followed quickly in the following letter from Mrs. Haskell.

CHICAGO, Oct. 12, 1894.

To PRESIDENT WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph.D., D.D.

My Dear Sir:—I take pleasure in offering to the University of Chicago the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the founding of a second Lectureship on the Relations of Christianity and the other religions. These lectures, six or more in number, are to be given in Calcutta (India), and, if deemed best, in Bombay, Madras, or some other of the chief cities of Hindustan, where large numbers of educated Hindus are familiar with the English language. The wish, so earnestly expressed by Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar, that a lectureship like that which I had the privilege of founding last summer might be provided for India, has led me to consider the desirability of establishing in some great collegiate center, like Calcutta, a course of lectures to be given, either annually or as may seem better, biennially, by leading Christian scholars of Europe, Asia, and America, in which, in a friendly, temperate, conciliatory way, and in the fraternal spirit which pervaded the Parliament of Religions, the great questions of the truths of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims, and the best methods of setting them forth should be presented to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India.

It is my purpose to identify this work, which I believe will be a work of enlightenment and fraternity, with the University Extension Department of the University of Chicago, and it is my desire that the management of this lectureship should lie with yourself as President of all the Departments of the University, with Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., the Professorial Lecturer on Comparative Religion, with Professor George S. Goodspeed, the Associate Professor of Comparative Religion, and with those who shall be your and their successors in these positions. It is my request that this lectureship shall bear the name of John Henry Barrows, who has identified himself with the work of promoting friendly relations between Christian America and the people of India. The committee having the management of these lectures shall also have the authority to determine whether any of the courses shall be given in Asiatic or other cities outside of India.

In reading the proceedings of the Parliament of Religions, I have been struck with the many points of harmony between the different faiths, and the possibility of so presenting Christianity to others as to win their favorable interest in its truths. If the committee shall decide to utilize this lectureship still further in calling forth the views of scholarly representatives of the non-

Christian faiths, I authorize and shall approve such a decision. Only good will grow out of such a comparison of views.

Europe and America wish to hear and ponder the best that Asia can give them, and the world of Asia would gladly listen to the words of such Christian scholars as Archdeacon Farrar, of London; Dr. Fairbairn, of Oxford; Professor Henry Drummond and Professor A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow; Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale; Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard; Bishop H. C. Potter and Dr. Lyman Abbott, of New York, and several others who might be named from the University of Chicago. It is my wish that, accepting the offer which I now make, the committee of the University will correspond with the leaders of religious thought in India, and secure from them such helpful suggestions as they may be ready to give. I cherish the expectation that the Barrows Lectures will prove, in the years that shall come, a new golden bond between the East and the West. In the belief that this foundation will be blessed by our Heavenly Father, to the extension of the benign influence of our great University, to the promotion of the highest interests of humanity, and to the enlargement of the kingdom of Truth and Love on earth, I remain, with much regard. Yours sincerely,

CAROLINE E. HASKELL.

The University accepted gratefully the gift of Mrs. Haskell, and requested Dr. J. H. Barrows to correspond with the leaders of thought and religion in India as to their attitude toward such a foundation, and the best methods of carrying it on. Letters were sent to representative men and newspapers of all shades of thought, and the response elicited was exceedingly gratifying. The Calcutta *Statesman* of December 1, 1894, in a long and thoughtful editorial upon the subject, closes with the following words: "We recommend our readers to study Mrs. Haskell's letter for themselves. It breathes a spirit of toleration, and yet it is manifestly the word of a devout Christian woman who is fully persuaded that the faith she holds only needs a fair hearing to convince others. That great good may result from the judicious fulfillment of the scheme she has so liberally endowed, we think there can be little room for doubt." The *Hindu* of November 26 says: "We expect nothing but good to come from this proposed friendly and regardful study of the two religions, from a comparison of the truths and teachings embodied in their respective literatures. . . . . We hope that Buddhism and Christianity, Hinduism and Christianity, Islam and Christianity will be reconciled yet by some supreme minds, who shall show that in Christ all that is good and true in these faiths has been embodied and completed by a special revelation. So far as Hinduism is concerned, we may express a hope that it will not grudge this consummation, because, as a comparatively modern revelation, the Christian religion may be accepted, in so far as it does not contradict the fundamental truths of Hinduism, as a necessary supplement, a fresh interpretation, required to suit modern conditions and aims of life. . . . . In the meanwhile all well-wishers of the peaceful progress of the human race will hail with delight the new fraternal spirit which American Christians along with some European Christians also are evincing toward the old religion of India."

This voice from Hinduism is seconded by that of the Hindu scholar

Manilal N. D'vivedi, who offers his assistance and that of his friends, and by that of the great Parsi scholar of India, who writes from Bombay, "The object of the lectures, which, so far as I can gather from your letter, is to promote friendly relations between the people of India and America, has my warmest sympathy." From a letter to Mrs. Haskell, written by Mr. Mozoomdar, the following extract may be quoted:

"I take the liberty to approach you with the warmest gratitude for your act of great generosity in endowing a lectureship on Comparative Religion in India. When I expressed a wish in that direction to Dr. Barrows, it was like a sigh of despair, more than an impulse of hope, but it was indeed a devout wish, and you have been moved to give effect to it in a way which the most sanguine could not look forward to. India is so far from you physically, and its people are so unlike yours that your philanthrophy could but have been inspired by the Universal Spirit to whom the West and East are one. Charity reconciles all separations, bridges all gulfs, and works wonders. And in that divine charity may you and yours be blessed by India and America. We must all unite to make your benefaction productive of the highest good to this land and to its educated community, introducing through its agency a higher and more spiritual form of the religion of Christ than has yet been preached unto us."

That Christian missionaries in India welcome the establishment of the lectureship is shown by a letter addressed to Mrs. Haskell by Dr. Macdonald, President of the Missionary Conference of Calcutta. He writes as follows:

THE INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW,
Editor's Office,
326 BEADON STREET, CALCUTTA, Nov. 28, 1894.

DEAR MADAM: Allow me, as one of the oldest missionaries in India, as being here now about the third of a century,—and as a missionary whose chief work is among the English educated thousands of the non-Christians of Calcutta, to thank you most heartily for your noble gift to the University of Chicago, and through it to the very people among whom I labor and have labored all these years. I thoroughly believe in light, the purest, being thrown on the relations of Christianity and the other religions, by such men as you have named. Nothing but good can come from contact on such a subject of the Indian mind with such sympathetic, able and learned Christian men as Dr. John Henry Barrows, Archdeacon Farrar, Dr. Fairbairn, of Oxford, Professor Henry Drummond, Professor Bruce, Professor Fisher, and the others named. The subject is well chosen, and the men named are excellent as indicating the minds which are to elucidate the subject.

In my own name and in the name of all my fellow missionaries to whom I have communicated the good news, I desire to express our grateful appreciation of your noble gift,—and the hope and faith we entertain that it will prove a great, incalculable blessing to this great country. Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
R. S. MACDONALD.

That teachers in the institutions of learning in India are not indifferent is shown by an extract from the conclusion of a most wise and cordial letter of Professor Alexander Tomory, of Duff College, Calcutta, which reads: "I hail

your noble movement as the answer to my prayers and the realization of some of my dreams."

A cordial letter is sent from the Rev. Dr. William Miller, of Madras, who says, among other things: "I need hardly say that I greatly rejoice at the noble gift to The University of Chicago. All concerned are sure to have nothing but approval of the lectureship and a hearty welcome for the lecturer. You may be sure of hearty coöperation, and I can most cordially promise you mine and that of many others in Madras." Dr. Miller encloses a copy of the resolutions proposed and unanimously adopted on Dec. 10, 1894, by the Madras Missionary Conference. We print them here:

The Conference desires to put on record its appreciation of the liberality on the part of Mrs. Haskell, which has led to the foundation of the Barrows lectureship, and its hope that great and lasting good will result from the delivery at suitable centres in India of lectures "by leading Christian scholars of Europe, Asia and America, in which, in a friendly, temperate, conciliatory way, and in the fraternal spirit which pervaded the Parliament of Religions, the great questions of the truths of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims, and the best methods of setting them forth should be presented to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India."

Without venturing to pronounce on what may become expedient in the distant future, the Conference is of opinion that the time has by no means come when it would be wise to devote the proposed lectureship to any other purpose than that of the sympathetic exposition of historic Christianity and of its points of contact with other schemes of thought.

The Conference wishes to point out that, when account is taken of the number of those who habitually use the English tongue and of the high position which Christian education holds in Southern India, Madras stands second to no place in the East as a suitable centre for the delivery of the proposed lectures.

The Conference will rejoice to welcome such a lecturer as Dr. Barrows to Madras at the earliest date for which the committee in charge of the lectureship can arrange, and, if requested to do so, will suggest the names of those in Madras whom that committee is likely to find most helpful in carrying out the scheme.

In a letter from the Reverend P. E. Slater of the London Missionary Society, Bangalore, South India, great satisfaction is expressed at the establishment of the lectureship. Mr. Slater sends word that resolutions similar in form and spirit to those of the Madras Conference were passed by the Bangalore Missionary Conference.

All who desire the exaltation of truth and who see in Christ the complete revelation of God cannot but rejoice in the new opportunity offered to Christian scholarship and piety to proclaim the message of the Gospel in India. May the wise men from the West round out the mission of those ancient sages from the East, going now not to find, but to carry back the knowledge of the Saviour whom they worship and adore, who is the Light of the World.

G. S. G.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE PENTATEUCH AND THE PRIESTLY DUES. By the REV. HENRY HAYMAN, D.D., in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1895. Pages 18–28.

The alleged discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the middle pentateuchal books assume especial importance as regards their representation of the position, functions and provisions for the priest-Levites and the assignment of tithes in particular which they contain. This article is limited to the subject of priestly dues, including tithes, oblations of all kinds and their contingent perquisites.

Deuteronomy does not mention that tithes are such dues. Here they seem to be allotted to the "soilers," to be consumed on festive occasions, to which the Levite was to be a party only (Deut. 12:6 f.; 14:22–29; 26:12 f.). In Numbers (18:20, 21) it is claimed that Jehovah was to be the inheritance of Levi, represented in the tithes, subject, however (vs. 26) to the deduction of one-tenth—the tithe of the tithe—due to the priestly house *par excellence*. On close inspection this seeming conflict vanishes. In Deut. 18:1, 2 the fire-offerings of Jehovah and his inheritance are there made the portion of "the priests, the Levites and the whole tribe of Levi" with special stress on verse 2. Also in Deut. 10:9 we read "Jehovah is his [Levi's] inheritance, as Jehovah Elohim promised." The explanation hinges on this term which is fully explained by turning to Num. 18:20, 21, where Jehovah says to Aaron, "Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land . . . . I am thy part and thy inheritance among the children of Israel. And behold I have given the sons of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance." Deuteronomy, then, being more popular in form, does not need to specify each particular. The fire-offerings include all the offerings in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers known as sin, guilt, peace, or simply burnt offerings. The most comprehensive passage in the Pentateuch regarding the priestly dues is that of Num. 18:8 f. Deuteronomy does not need to give any corresponding list to the one last mentioned in Numbers. The one which comes the nearest thereto is Deut. 12:6. That in Numbers above cited is an enumeration of what the priests are to receive; in Deuteronomy it is of what the people are to bring to the sanctuary. Among these the term tithe occurs, meaning, probably, the "second tithe" only. Thus we see how the finer technicalities and requirements of Numbers are sunk in the broadly graded order of Deuteronomy. Again in Deuteronomy, which gives the popular side of the matter, we read in 12:27 after the prohibition of the blood, a distinct permission to the worshiper: "The blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar . . . .

and thou shalt eat the flesh." Conversely we find that where the priestly rules leave the question open, Deuteronomy fills the gap in Leviticus and both are in harmony. Without specifying further we find that the whole proves the mutual interdependence of the popular and priestly *corpus juris*, and shows that without reference to Leviticus-Numbers we cannot clearly comprehend Deuteronomy.

Dr. Hayman makes a serious attempt to harmonize passages which are in conflict, as it seems. His theory is plausible, though it will hardly be accepted by those who hold the views which he combats. It is sincerely to be hoped that some specialist in this line will take up the subject with which he grapples and give us a comprehensive statement of the case and the best results of his investigations.

PRICE.

ST. LUKE THE HISTORIAN OF THE CHURCH. By REV. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A., Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. In the *Thinker* for December, 1894.

Of the three synoptists, the second writes as a catechist, the first as a theologian, the third as an historian. St. Luke's right to be considered an historian is to be seen not merely because of his "editorial notes" added by way of description or interpretation to his sections, but also from his evident attempt to give chronological arrangement and dates. He also is careful to give names of persons and places.

I. His dates. In the time of Christ there was no uniform method of reckoning years. Common reason was therefore bound to adopt the names of local and cosmopolitan magistrates. Luke, therefore, is following the common practice in his use of "in the days of Herod the king of Judea," "when Quirinius was Proprætor of Syria," etc. Compared with the other New Testament writers, who seldom give a date at all, Luke is here the true historian, and renders great aid in enabling us to determine New Testament chronology.

II. The chronological arrangement of his narratives. Here there is need of distinguishing between the accounts given by him from first and those given from second-hand information. In the former case his arrangement is perfect (*e.g.*, the "we-section" in Acts), while in the latter it is by no means so. The Gospel begins and ends, it is true, with the true sequence as far as the events narrated indicate their own order; but in other parts of his Gospel, St. Luke simply follows St. Mark whose order was made for convenience in teaching, and not as the facts occurred. In the unique section Lk., 9:51–18:14, the sections are massed on no discovered principle. In the first half of the Acts there appears also to be some displacement (*e.g.*, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch must have occurred later than that of Cornelius). This Gospel, notwithstanding his preface, is the least orderly of the three.

III. His proper names. Here we consider, so far as names of persons are

concerned, only those of contemporaries; 50 are introduced into the Gospel, and 95 into the Acts, 18 of the 50 and 63 out of the 95 are not mentioned by other writers. So far as concerns geographical names, Luke's knowledge is considerable. In the Acts he mentions 32 countries, 54 cities, 9 islands. And his knowledge of these places is correct and minute (to be seen by comparing his accounts with those of Smith and Ramsay). In the Gospel the sweep is naturally much more confined. There he mentions 1 lake, 1 river, 8 countries, 19 cities, but few of these are unmentioned by other evangelists.

In St. Luke's use of names we may gain data for explaining the fact that about three-fourths of St. Mark's Gospel is found embodied in his. St. Mark gives 86 proper names of persons and places, but St. Luke reduces this number by 24. This omission would hardly have been possible had he possessed a written copy of St. Mark's Gospel. But the omission of unfamiliar places would have been natural in an oral tradition among gentiles. St. Luke, then, probably used this oral tradition.

These names are, further, of great help in settling the authenticity of the Acts, and to a less degree, that of the Gospel. Had Luke been one of the twelve this would have been very different. We should then have had, probably, clear geographical descriptions of Christ's journeys, the names of those miraculously healed, the local settings of the parables. But while the gain to the student would have been enormous, the faith of the church needs no such collection of vivid details.

The statistical material of this article is valuable; but as a whole, though helpful, it is open to criticism. Especially do we question the author's well-known position upon the synoptic question. We should expect, also, some discussion of the chronological knowledge of the Gospel. It is disappointing, further, that the author has left untouched the vast region of historical allusions — both to social and political institutions. Such passages as Luke 24:13, 20; 12:13; Acts 21:28; 14:6; 5:37, while not easily tabulated, are nevertheless full of suggestion as to Luke's attention to details. An attentive and critical study of his Gospel and the Acts will give an astonishing amount of evidence of Luke's care and accuracy. As a sample of what is possible, it will be interesting to supplement this article with the little pamphlet of Dr. Julius Röttig, *Der Evangelist Lucas als Kenner der Verhältnisse seiner Zeit.* S. M.

Notes and Opinions.

Relation of the Messiahship to the Divinity of Christ.—In a review of Dr. Dale's new contribution to theology, the book *Christian Doctrine*, Professor Dods criticises his chapter on the divinity of our Lord in these words: "Dr. Dale omits to consider two ideas which trouble many minds at present in relation to this subject: the immanence of God, and the messiahship of Jesus. Few departments in theology need more attention just now than the adjustment of relations between the messiahship and the divinity of our Lord. Must not many passages which have been thought to carry proof of his divinity be referred to his messiahship? The development from belief in his messiahship to belief in his divinity needs to be more carefully traced than as yet has been done. The prevalent idea, too, of the immanence of God has a bearing on the personal divinity of our Lord which has not yet been estimated with distinctness." Professor Dods has here pointed out with keen and significant utterance a deficiency in current theology which should receive immediate and thorough consideration. Professor Wendt, in his *Teaching of Jesus*, has dealt squarely if perhaps not altogether satisfactorily with the question. And is it not a problem of *biblical* theology which Professor Dods rather than Dr. Dale, or in advance of Dr. Dale, is under obligation to discuss?

The Earliest Hebrew Literature.—The familiar dictum that the earliest literature of a race is poetic literature is verified in the history of the Hebrew race. Professor L. B. Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary, discusses at length the earliest Hebrew literature in the December number of the *Hartford Seminary Record*. He finds this earliest literature in the Book of Genesis, in the poetic passages so easily discovered in the Revised Version. They are: the sword-song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23, 24); the oracle of Noah (Gen. 9:25–27); the blessing of Melchizedek (Gen. 14:19); the blessing of Laban (Gen. 24:60); the oracle to Rebekah (Gen. 25:23); Isaac's blessing of Jacob (Gen. 27:27–29); Isaac's blessing of Esau (Gen. 27: 39, 40); and, longest and most important of all, the last words of Jacob (Gen. 49:2–27). These passages are distinguished from the body of the narrative by parallelism of clauses, by assonance of words, by strophic structure, by rhythm, and by peculiar diction. They differ from all the rest of the narrative in being recorded, not merely as the substance of what the patriarchs thought and said, but as their own authentic words. If this claim be true, we have in these fragments a most precious relic of early Hebrew thought, valuable for the reconstruction of primitive Hebrew history. The writer then argues against

a priori objections to their genuineness by showing that a developed literature can exist before letters, and that therefore "it is the height of arbitrariness to assert that such poetry as we find in Genesis could not have been composed in the patriarchal age, and could not have come down to Mosaic or post-Mosaic times even if it had been composed." The main portion of the article undertakes to prove that there is nothing in these fragments which is inconsistent with the hypothesis that they are genuine productions of Israel's earliest period. As a representative passage, the last words of Jacob are taken for detailed investigation. With reference to the date of this passage the critics are arranged in two general groups: (1) the school of Graf holds pretty generally to its origin in the time of Ahab, Elijah and Elisha; (2) the conservative school places it in the time of the Judges, so Dillmann. The Grafian date is, in two short paragraphs, set aside as impossible. The date in the time of the Judges is considered more probable, and is discussed through eight pages, but at last is set aside as unnecessary. Professor Paton's conclusion is, that "the poetic fragments in Genesis are probably original productions of the patriarchal age, which were transmitted orally during the period of the wanderings in Canaan, and the sojourn in Egypt, and finally, were gathered by the writer of Genesis from the mouth of the people or of professional singers. · · · He has not seen fit formally to quote his ancient poetical authorities except in these cases, but he unquestionably had other poems of antiquity with their accompanying traditional explanations, and these have been the sources from which he has drawn the materials for his narrative. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that many portions of the book of Genesis, which we cannot say are strictly poetical, nevertheless have so strong a poetic flavor, and run now and then into such distinct poetic forms of expression, as to suggest that the narrator is basing his story on a poetic source whose language he unconsciously adopts. Where an unbroken thread of poetic tradition exists history can be transmitted." This, then, is Professor Paton's theory as to the source of the material recorded in Genesis. The time when these poetic traditions were given their present form in the book of Genesis is a secondary matter, and that they may have undergone some adaptation and expansion he admits. This is along the right line.

"A Forgotten Higher Critic of the Last Century."—Under this head appears an editorial in the December number of *The Thinker*, a very conservative theological magazine (published in London by Jas. Nisbet & Co.). It reads as follows: "Many people will be surprised to hear that there was a book published a little more than a hundred years ago, in which a number of the results of the Higher Criticism of the present day, so far as it concerns some of the books of the Old Testament, are anticipated. In a couple of articles in the *United Presbyterian Magazine* [a Scotch publication], the Rev. T. Whitelaw, D.D., gives an account of this book, and arranges in parallel columns extracts from it and writings of present-day critics, in order to show how closely the

two correspond to each other. It is not, however, until near the end of the second article that Dr. Whitelaw, with considerable dramatic power, discloses the title and authorship of the book in question, and we learn that we have to do with *The Age of Reason*, by Thomas Paine. The reflections which this fact gives rise to are expressed in language which is calculated to wound every right-thinking mind. 'One can hardly imagine,' we read, 'that, even at the bidding of German critics and their English copyists, the Evangelical Churches will be in a hurry to credit the astounding proposition that what, according to the higher critics, was hid from Jesus Christ, of whom Peter said, "Thou, Lord, knowest all things," and who claimed to understand the secrets of the Father, was, eighteen centuries afterwards, revealed to Thomas Paine; and that while Jesus Christ was wrong in saying that Moses wrote of him (John. 5:46), Thomas Paine was right in asserting that Moses did no such thing. That the Evangelical Churches in Scotland (unless they mean to dig their own graves!) will be impelled, before long, to let their voices be heard on the attitude they intend to assume towards the sentiment of Paine, which, under cover of the Higher Criticism, and with much show of learning, are being industriously propagated by not a few of their responsible teachers, is to the present writer clear as day.' We think [writes the editor of *The Thinker*] that Dr. Whitelaw has stated his case in terms unnecessarily strong, and likely to produce a reaction in favor of those whom he condemns. After all, the only way to overthrow erroneous or defective theories in biblical criticism, or in any other science, is to replace them by better—by those, that is, that give a more adequate explanation of the facts of the case. Scientific research is quite independent of the moral character and aims of those who take part in it; a man of devout feelings and good intentions may go widely astray in questions of scholarship, while one of defective moral character may be fairly trustworthy in such matters. Perhaps it is a pity that it should be so, but we have to deal with things as we find them." This same argument was presented, with the same dramatic effect, by Professor Howard Osgood, D.D., at the recent meeting of the Baptist Congress, held at Detroit, in November, 1894.

The Norm of Genuine Christianity.—A series of tracts for the times, written by representative theologians, is being published in Germany, with the purpose of indicating what may be regarded as essential and positive in view of the general sifting of current ideas now going on. One of these tracts, with the above heading, is by Professor H. H. Wendt, the author of the *Teaching of Jesus*. An abstract of this tract, made by Rev. R. M. Adamson, appears in the *Expository Times* for December. The substance of it here follows. The problem is, to discover what constitutes the proper substance of the Christian revelation. The Protestant church declares that the necessary fundamentals are to be found in Scripture. Yes, but the Bible is not so constituted as to yield a decided, clear, consistent norm of belief. The older Protestantism relied on the perspicuity of the Scriptures, but that transparency

is by no means so certain. Our difficulty is not merely the presence of many dark utterances in the Bible, but it arises from the fact that the standpoints of many of the inspired writers are radically different. The fact is this, that scientific theologians have renounced the earlier position as regards Scripture, and now *distinguish relative values* in the different documents. The true norm of Christianity, therefore, can only be the teaching of Jesus. Protestantism has given to Paul's exposition of Christianity as absolute a value as to Christ's own exposition, and has practically given Paulinism the preference. In opposition to this we must insist on the *whole* of Christ's own teaching being included in Christian theology—nay, we must insist upon that teaching forming the starting-point, the main substance, and the final test, of any system offered. But is this teaching of Jesus matter of historical clearness? No doubt there is the difficulty of obtaining a guarantee of the authenticity and purity of the accounts given us in the records. The result, however, of the most thorough, critical investigations is to discredit the position of Strauss, and to establish the essential reliability of the Gospels. It may well be agreed, in the light of the fullest inquiry, that here we have a trustworthy delineation of Jesus, of the greatness, purity and lovableness of his character and works. It is the relation of God to men given in the words and deeds of Christ, and expounded by him through the idea of the kingdom of God. The application of this revelation is capable of continued and ever-changing development, but the revelation itself is capable of no further perfection. This view as to the norm of genuine Christianity does not diminish the value of Scripture, in general, for all Scripture remains a commentary upon the central revelation embodied in Christ.

The View of the Prophets as to Israel's Relation to Foreign Nations in the Messianic Era.—It is a pity that the treatise of Rev. F. H. Woods on *Hebrew Prophecy and Modern Criticism* has had to be chopped into such small bits for publication in the *Expository Times*. It will be a pleasure to see it and to read it together, in book form, for it is certainly marked by clear thinking, good judgment and thorough scholarship. In the December installment the above subject is discussed. Mr. Woods finds it difficult to summarize the view of the Old Testament prophets as regards the relation of the redeemed nation to other nations in the great future, because it is treated in a somewhat different spirit by different prophets. (1) Sometimes the thought is merely that the Jews, and Jerusalem especially, will, under the protection of Jahweh, be safe from the attacks of foreign powers. So Isa. 33:20, 21; Ezek. 38 and 39. (2) Sometimes, with some brighter promise for foreign nations generally, the thought of the destruction of a special enemy is painfully mingled. So Isa. 24–27. (3) Often the thought is the brighter one, that the nations will be led by some single act of God's primitive justice to recognize his sovereignty. So Isa. 18. (4) Again, the Messianic era is described as one of international peace. So Isa. 2:2–4 (=Mic. 4:1–3); Isa. 9:1–7; Zech. 9:9–17. (5) Most fre-

quently the attitude of the nations is that of ready and willing submission. They are described as bringing back the captive Israelites to their homes, as in Isa. 14:2; and in 49:22 the prophet of the captivity expands the promise of Isa. 11:12. In Ps. 72:10 presents are to be brought unto Israel. The nations even become the slaves of the Israelites, as in Isa. 14:2. Many of these thoughts are combined in Isa. 60. See also Zech. 14:16–21. And so we reach the double thought: first, of a world-wide religion of which the temple is at Jerusalem, and second, a world-wide empire of which Jerusalem is the capital (cf. especially Ps. 87). It is but seldom, if at all, that the prophets rise to the higher thought that all nations have equal religious and political rights in the sight of God. But at least the way is prepared for this conception by Amos 9:7. We find also the converse of the same thought in the bitter sarcasm of Jeremiah 9:25, 26. And Isaiah (19:23–25) foretells the time when at any rate the two great enemies of Israel shall have equal religious privileges.

Work and Workers.

THE English translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma*, which is to be published by Messrs. Williams & Norgate, London, is making progress. Volume I. is just ready.

THE recent work, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, by Professor McCurdy, of the University of Toronto, of which only the first volume has as yet been published, has already gone into a second edition.

THE authorized translation of Professor W. Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology* is just issued by Messrs. T. & T. Clark (imported by Scribners). It has gained a high reputation in Germany, and will now be much used among English readers. It is printed in two volumes. It will be reviewed in these pages later.

A NEW edition has appeared of Professor Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. It was thoroughly revised from the first page to the last by Dr. Smith himself before his death. The book contains twenty more pages than it did in the earlier edition, the additional material being worked into the text here and there. The revision does not show any change of attitude on the author's part, but he has added valuable details and perfected his expression.

AT last we are assured that Dr. Swete's Manual Edition of the Septuagint is complete. Volume III., containing Hosea — IV. Maccabees, is out of the press. It has not yet arrived in this country at this writing, but may be expected soon. Of course it is and henceforth will be the standard text of the Old Testament in Greek. The great edition, which is to be supplied with full critical apparatus, is in the distant future. But this briefer edition is a large and very useful work in itself, and sufficient for many, even if not for all, purposes. Our gratitude is due to its editor.

THE friends of the late Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D., are preparing a memorial to perpetuate his name and influence. It is proposed to found in his name a scholarship in a theological college, since Dr. Cox was preëminently a theologian and interpreter of Scripture. The institution chosen in which to place the scholarship is the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, Eng., of which T. W. Davies is principal. Without soliciting subscriptions or making any personal appeal, the proposed memorial is announced, and any who so desire may forward contributions to the fund to Rev. G. M. McElwee, M.A., Nottingham. Dr. Cox was for twenty-five years minister of Mansfield Road

Church in that city. He is, perhaps, more widely known as the founder and first editor of England's greatest biblical journal, the *Expositor*. It is fitting that his memory should be honored in this way, and his many friends will see that this effort does not fail.

An account has recently been received by the officers of the American Bible Society of the presentation to the Empress Dowager of China, at the recent celebration of her sixtieth birthday, of a magnificent and costly copy of the New Testament from ten thousand women in the Flowery Kingdom. The scheme suggested by some missionary women at Ningpo was carried out by the missionary society. It took six months to print the volume at the Presbyterian mission press, Shanghai. It is royal quarto in size. The page borders are in gold. The covers are silver boards, made in Canton, on which are carved in relief birds and bamboo, signifying messengers bearing peace. The book is inclosed in a silver casket, which rests in a teak-wood case. The cost of the book and casket is said to be $1,200. The gift was graciously received, and its appearance in the imperial household created no end of interest and curiosity. The Emperor immediately sent his servants out to the bookstore to purchase several copies of the Scriptures.

The announcements for 1895 made by the *Expositor* promise articles upon the following appetizing subjects: The Zeitgeist in Criticism, by Professor Sanday; The Teaching and Miracles of Christ, by Principal Fairbairn; Some Problems in Prophecy, by Professor Cheyne; The Hebrew Patriarchs, by Professor Ryle; The Doctrine of Imputation in the Epistle to the Romans, by Principal Edwards; Jeremiah: The Man and His Message, by Dr. Stalker; The Ministry of John the Baptist, by Professor Dods; and, of course, there will be many others of equal interest and value. It would be an acceptable arrangement for American scholars, and a bright move from a business point of view for Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, the London publishers of the *Expositor*, if they would affiliate themselves with some American publishing house for the readier distribution of their many important publications, as Messrs. T. & T. Clark are affiliated with Chas. Scribner's Sons, and as almost every other first-class London firm has a representative in this country.

The biblical instruction which was introduced into the curriculum of Amherst College seven years ago by Professor Geo. S. Burroughs, now President of Wabash College, Indiana, is continued by his successor, Rev. J. E. Tuttle, D.D. The courses offered for the present year are three, and all elective. Each constitutes a regular term's work. To the Juniors are offered Course (1), The Minor Prophets, including a general view of Prophecy and Old Testament Literature, and Course (2), The Gospels. To the Seniors is offered Course (3), The New Testament Epistles, with particular reference to the Pauline Epistles, and a general view of New Testament Literature. This study is presented from the standpoints of history and literature. The

students are directed in independent investigation, and are required to prepare inductive studies of the subjects under consideration. The purpose of the courses is to emphasize and set forth the relation of the history and literature of the Bible to general history, literature, art, and to the progress of modern life.

TWO NEW volumes have appeared in the epoch-making Old Testament textual work entitled *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Professor Paul Haupt. They are: Part 3, *The Book of Leviticus*, by Professor S. R. Driver and H. A. White; and Part 8, *The Books of Samuel*, by Dr. Karl Budde. This makes three parts now issued, Professor Siegfried's volume on *Job* having been published some time ago. New numbers will be constantly appearing, but it may be several years before the magnificent work is complete. For textual students of the Old Testament nothing can be of equal value, and all students of the Old Testament can and should be textual students when such a work as this is put into their hands. Of course no one would presume to discuss or pass upon the documentary analysis of the Old Testament books without having a thorough understanding of what and why that analysis is, and here is the opportunity of acquiring that information in the quickest and surest way. The method adopted in this series of showing by the use of various colors the component documentary parts of which each book is made up has already become sufficiently known to the public.

A NEW series of Commentaries on the Old and New Testaments is announced by Messrs. T. & T. Clark. The editors are Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., Professor Alfred Plummer, D.D., and Professor C. A. Briggs, D.D. The design is to supply English readers with a series of trustworthy manuals adequate to the requirements of modern scholarship, and based upon a thorough philological and critical study of the original texts. Archæology, criticism and biblical theology are included in the plan of the series, but not practical or homiletical exegesis. Among the British contributors to this series will be Professors Driver, A. B. Davidson, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick, Sanday, Plummer, A. R. S. Kennedy, G. A. Smith, and Rev. A. C. Headlam; and in America, Professors Francis Brown, W. R. Harper, G. F. Moore, and Warfield. Three of the volumes are already in the press, and will be ready soon; *Deuteronomy*, by Professor Driver; *Judges*, by Professor Moore; and *Romans*, by Professor Sanday and Mr. Headlam. It is hardly necessary to say that this series will stand first among all English serial commentaries upon the Bible. It stands with and admirably supplements the International Theological Library, edited by Professors Briggs and Salmond, to which we have already learned to look for the best and most recent in theological science. So in this new series of commentaries we may expect to obtain that which is best and most recent in the historical, literary and linguistic study of the Bible. We are greatly in need of just what this series promises to give, especially as concerns the Old Testament. We may express the hope that it

will provide for us an adequate and satisfactory commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew, a thing at present conspicuously and lamentably lacking. The assignment of the various books to particular authors has not yet been made public.

When, in 1886, Professor Briggs issued his highly valuable and widely used volume on *Messianic Prophecy*, he announced that a second volume would soon follow, which would show how far the Old Testament Messianic ideal was fulfilled by the first advent of the Messiah, and how far this ideal remained unfulfilled and was taken up into New Testament prophecy and carried on to a higher stage of development. The material for this supplementary volume was ready for publication in 1888, but the distraction of the Revision movement in the Presbyterian church and the subsequent "long struggle against ecclesiastical domination and in behalf of the right of biblical criticism and of the fountains of authority in religion" led the author into other lines of research and expression. It is not until now that the promised volume, awaited eight years, has appeared. And meanwhile it has expanded into two parts, published separately, the first treating of the Messianic ideas of pre-Christian Judaism, and of the Messiah of the Gospels: the second, to be issued within the present year, will discuss the Messianic ideas of the Jews of the New Testament times and the Messiah of the Epistles and the Apocalypse. Part I., the volume now given us, is entitled *The Messiah of the Gospels*, and will be reviewed in a later number of this journal. It will, in all probability, receive and deserve the same careful attention from the public that was accorded to its predecessor. Professor Briggs has in mind to prepare still a third volume, which will trace the history of the Messianic ideal in the Christian church, and show its importance in the development of Christian doctrine. He is "convinced that the faith of the church of the day is defective in its lack of apprehension of the reigning Christ and in its neglect of the Second Advent of our Lord." As to when this concluding volume will appear we are given no indication. The entire undertaking was a large and important one, of which the greater portion is already well accomplished. We hope that it may be completed as planned.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters—The following topics for Chapter-meetings during February, are suggested. Care should be taken to select for each meeting such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching different sides of the subject. Not more than five topics and a map drill should be upon any one programme:

1. The Jewish ideas of God, of righteousness and of the Messiah, contrasted with the teachings of Jesus concerning the same.

2. The geological history of the Jordan Valley (illustrated by diagrams).

3. Historical landmarks along the Jordan.

4. The value of a study of Palestinian Geography in connection with that of the Life of Christ.

5. The two instances of the healing of a blind man (Mark 8 and John 9). A comparison of the *methods* in these miracles with others.

6. The significance of the confession of Peter, and of Jesus' answer to him.

7. The sayings of Christ in this period concerning his approaching death and resurrection, and the manner in which they were received by his disciples.

8. A circumstantial account of the transfiguration, with a discussion of its purpose and effect.

9. Christ's charges of secrecy concerning his deeds and words. To whom and under what circumstances were they given? What were some of the reasons for them?

10. The Teachings of Jesus concerning humility and forgiveness, in relation to the current teachings of his times.

11. A description of Jerusalem at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles.

12. Reading of John 7:1–52. Christ at the Feast of Tabernacles.

13. The discourses on the Light of the World, and spiritual freedom (*a*) from the standpoint of the Jews, (*b*) from the standpoint of Christians today.

14. The Seventy: the commission, the instructions, the return and the results, from the point of view of their effect on the faith of the disciples.

15. The parable of the Good Samaritan, with special reference to its force to the *Jews*.

16. The interviews between the Pharisees and the man born blind, with special reference to the spirit manifested by the Pharisees.

17. The assertion of the Jews of Jesus' day that he was not of a sane mind. Was it sincere? On what was it based?

18. Jesus' way of dealing with the Scribes and Pharisees, and the reasons for it.

19. Solomon's Porch.

20. Jesus' method of dealing with the Jews who believed because of his miracles alone.

21. Map study tracing the journeys of Jesus in the third period of the Galilean ministry.

22. How full a conception of the life and work of the Christ did his apostles have up to this time? a discussion.

23. A résumé of the situation at the close of this period in relation to the enemies and friends of Jesus, and a comparison of this situation with that at the close of the second period of the Galilean ministry.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The demand for biblical lectures increases as facilities for Bible study improve. In order to meet this demand the following lecture courses have been kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute for the current season:

By PRESIDENT GEO. S. BURROUGHS, *Wabash College*.

1. Lectures on Old Testament Prophecy. 2. Inductive Studies in the Minor Prophets and Isaiah. 3. Lectures on the Gospels in connection with the times of Christ. 4. Inductive Studies in the Gospels.

By PROFESSOR IRVING F. WOOD, *Smith College*, courses of lectures in

1. The Gospels and their Relations. 2. Literary Study:—Some neglected books of the Bible. 3. Historical studies:—David and Solomon.

Single lectures.

1. The New Bible and its devotional use. 2. Three weeks in Jerusalem (illustrated).

By PROFESSOR LINCOLN HULLEY, *Bucknell University*.

1. Two lectures on Methods of Bible study. 2. Courses of from six to twelve lectures on Isaiah, the Psalms and the New Testament Church.

By PROFESSOR E. L. PARKS, *Gammon Theological Seminary*.

1. Courses of lectures on the Life of Christ and the Foreshadowings of Christ. 2. Book studies:—Exodus, Job, Isaiah, Daniel, Romans, Galatians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, Revelation.

Single lectures.

1. The importance of Systematic Bible Study. 2. The Methods of Systematic Bible Study. 3. How to use the Bible in Personal Religious work. 4. The Hebrew and Christian State, or the Teaching of the Old and New Testament upon the State. 5. The Teaching of the Old Testament upon the Kingdom of God. 6. The Teaching of the New Testament upon the Kingdom of God.

By PROFESSOR CHARLES HORSWELL, *Garrett Biblical Institute, Northwestern University.*

Courses of lectures.

1. Beginnings of Hebrew History:—Judges, Kings. 2. The Minor Prophets:—Hosea, Micah. 3. The Synoptic Gospels. 4. The Development of Gospel Literature. 5. The Pauline Epistles:—Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, Corinthians.

By PROFESSOR SHAILER MATHEWS, *The University of Chicago.*

1. The History of New Testament Times, (*a*) The Heroic Period of Jewish History, (*b*) The Herods and the Romans, (*c*) Home Life of the Jews, (*d*) Industrial Life of the Jews, (*e*) The Scribes and the Pharisees, (*f*) Jesus in the light of his times. 2. Historical study of the Life of Christ.

By DR. CHARLES F. KENT, *The University of Chicago.*

Courses on

1. Hebrew Prophecy. 2. Messianic Prophecy. 3. Hebrew Poetry.

Single lectures.

1. An Ancient Hebrew Love Story. 2. The Problem of the Book of Job. 3. Bible Study in Colleges. 4. What is the practical value of the Bible to me today?

By MR. C. W. VOTAW, *The University of Chicago.*

1. Some aspects of the Life of Christ, (*a*) The preparation of the world for Christ, (*b*) The course and chronology of Jesus' Public Ministry, (*c*) The Judaism with which Christ came into conflict, (*d*) The plan and Method of Jesus, (*e*) The characteristics of Christ's Teaching, (*f*) the Historical grounds for the belief in the Divinity of Christ.
2. The Teaching of Jesus, (*a*) God, Whose is the Kingdom, (*b*) The Nature and Advent of the Kingdom, (*c*) Righteousness of the Kingdom, (*d*) The Old Testament Revelation as related to the New, (*e*) The testimony of Jesus concerning Himself, (*f*) The future of the Kingdom.

Single Lectures.

1. Right and Wrong Ideas of the Bible. 2. Better Methods of Bible Study. 3. The Rise of the Old Testament Literature. 4. The formation of the New Testament canon. 5. The condition of the World at the Advent of Christianity. 6. The Sources and Relations of the Four Gospels.

By MR. DEAN A. WALKER, *The University of Chicago.*

1. Messianic Prophecy. 2. Isaiah. 3. Hosea. 4. Amos. 5. Jeremiah. 6. The Hydrography of Palestine. 7. The Land of Moab (stereopticon).

By MR. J. R. BERRY, *The University of Chicago.*

1. Old Testament Prophecy. 2. Hosea. 3. Amos. 4. The Psalms.

5. Hebrew History; The Exile. 6. The Life of Christ. 7. The Bible and Modern Discoveries.

By Rev. H. L. Willett, *The University of Chicago* (Field Secretary of the Institute).

1. Studies in Prophecy. 2. Studies in Messianic Prophecy. 3. The Prophecies of Isaiah. 4. The Song of Songs. 5. The Life of Christ. 6. The Life and Work of Paul. 7. The Great Text-Book.

By Mr. C. E. Woodruff, *The University of Chicago.*

1. The four Aspects of the Life of Jesus in the Gospels. 2. The Crises in the Life of Jesus. 3. The great Ideas in the Teachings of Jesus. 4. The Times of Danger in the History of the Apostolic Church. 5. Letters of the Apostle Paul.

The statement that the study of the Old Testament is not especially profitable for spiritual growth is one which has often to be combated by the Institute. The following from a group of three Missionary teachers who are studying the Club Course on the Foreshadowings of the Christ, is of interest in this connection:

"I wish to add my testimony to the helpfulness and value of your course of study. What has chiefly surprised me is the direct result it has had on my Christian life, giving me such a strong sense of the power and loving purpose of God, and thus strengthening me in my everyday life. It has made God seem, more than ever before, a God near at hand, and not far off.

"We three are missionary teachers living alone among the mountain people. It is very hard for us to find time for this study, and we shall doubtless fall behind, but the practical benefit is so great that we would go on with it were it still harder to make time for it."

We give below an extract from a letter to the St. Andrews Brotherhood, published in the January number of the *St. Andrews Cross.* It assures the Institute of the coöperation of Mr. James G. Houghteling, the president of the Brotherhood, which is one of the most important organizations for Christian work in the field.

"I have always been impressed with the lamentable lack of any thorough knowledge of the Bible on the part of most young men. I have also been impressed with the unprofitable way in which most men, who pretend to read their Bibles daily, go to it.

"There has recently come to my notice a scheme of Bible study prepared by the American Institute of Sacred Literature, by which fifteen minutes' Bible-reading every day will give a man a very good knowledge of the Bible in four years. · · · The direction of these courses of study is in thoroughly competent hands, and I recommend all readers of the St. Andrews Cross, who desire to do systematic work in the way of Bible study, to investigate this scheme."

(Signed) James G. Houghteling.

Book Reviews.

Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics, New Testament and Post-Apostolic. By Rev. James Macgregor, D.D. Sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1894. Pages 370. $3.00.

The plan of this work is in many particulars unique. Beginning with the Gospels, its author shows that both Christ and his apostles recognized the necessity of apologetics, and were always ready to give the grounds for their faith. Christ's attitude is to be seen in such passages as Luke 12:1–12, where he promises the Holy Ghost as the prompter for disciples on trial — this first promise of inspiration, having thus, a pointed reference to apology alone. Further, he himself appealed to both prophecy and to his mighty works as evidences of his high claims, reënforcing this appeal by his own life of absolute truth. The apostles never failed to appeal to miracles and especially to Christ's resurrection.

After having discussed somewhat fully the possibility and historicity of miracles in general, the author treats exhaustively of the miracles in the apostolic age. His argument here is orderly and convincing. In addition, Paul's practice and allusions as contained in the four generally unquestioned epistles are shown to be models of apologetic method, while Peter's zeal, not to say partisanship, suggests a caution against a "carnal belligerency" in behalf of truth.

In this first half of his work, if we may overlook a certain prolixity and something of this belligerency whenever Professor Huxley's name suggests itself, the author has constructed an admirable scheme of New Testament apologetics. But his second Book on Apologetics in its Two Post-Apostolic Periods is not quite above criticism. Besides being but imperfectly a *history* of apologetics, it reads like a work, the material of which was gathered several years since,—although in making this statement it is possible we run dangerously near the fate accorded by the author to the higher critics. Apart from a few references to magazine literature, almost no recent works are mentioned. The author's struggle is still with the "recent" theories of Renan, Strauss, and Baur. No mention is made of Beyschlag, Keim, Edersheim, Wendt, Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, or Weiss. And what appears somewhat strange in a work on New Testament apologetics, something more than a hundred pages, or nearly a third of the entire work, is devoted to a discussion of Old Testament criticism. Nor within his own limits, can it be said that in this

second book Dr. Macgregor displays a very complete knowlege of the history and method of either New Testament or Old Testament criticism. His attitude is always polemical, and his discussion is marked less by investigation than by rhetorical emphasis.

That a work of this sort, however, has value is beyond question. The man who wishes corroboration of already settled convictions, or who wishes a tonic for his own or another's flagging faith, will find his case here set forth with vigor and, often, wit. Dr. Macgregor is an accomplished disputant, and has so marshaled and disciplined the result of the last generation's apologetics, as to make them very efficient. The following quotation may not be the expression of candid research, but it possesses a certain force that may atone for the lack of a quality evidently judged out of place in dealing with opponents. "If this amateur 'scholar' [the author of *Supernatural Religion*] succumb to such masters as Lightfoot and Sanday, an infidel female novelist will take the field; showing how a Christian minister became an infidel, and set on foot a Christianity denying Christ the Lord, and made a similar infidel of his erst Puritan Christian wife,—all on no apparent ground of reason but what has been described as a farrago of scraps of after-dinner conversation of bookish people, of a loose way of thinking about religion,—certainly with no appearance of answer to the real question, as the matter stands, on your view: What are we to think of *Jesus* claiming to be the Saviour, Son of God?"

In a word, except for those who desire impartial presentation of arguments and conclusions, the work is likely to be of considerable value as a contribution to popular apologetic literature of the polemic sort. But the man who wishes a careful and equally convincing presentation of Christian truth in the light of today's scholarship will find other works more to his taste, and probably, more in accord with the aims and method of apologetic.

S. M.

The Johannine Theology: A study of the doctrinal contents of the Gospel and Epistles of the Apostle John. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1894. Pp. xii., 387. $2.00.

The criticisms that are here presented do not concern the spirit of Professor Stevens' book, which is fair and reverent, nor do they refer to the interpretation of particular passages, with which I substantially agree, but they touch (*a*) the author's view of the *sources* of the Johannean theology, (*b*) his conception of the *task* of biblical theology, and (*c*) his *method*.

In regard to the sources, the author excludes the Apocalypse with the remark that "whatever view be held respecting its authorship, it represents a type of teaching so peculiar in its form and matter that it should be treated separately." This position seems untenable. (1) The *form* of the Apocalypse is a purely *literary* question, and therefore does not constitute a reason for

special treatment of its theology, nor does it constitute any part of such a reason. If one were writing on the theological views of John Milton, could it be urged that the difference in form between Milton's prose and poetry constituted a reason why one or the other should be excluded? Did he have one view of God and the world when writing in prose and another when writing in verse? (2) If the *matter* of the Apocalypse be very peculiar, as the author holds, then, if John is the author of the Apocalypse, this peculiarity makes it imperative that the Apocalypse should *not* be excluded. If the teaching were *not* peculiar, its omission might not be significant; but, on the supposition that John wrote the Apocalypse, the very strangeness of its views is the strongest of reasons why a book that aims to present the theology of John should consider these views. It is not true, then, that whatever view be held respecting the authorship of the Apocalypse, the peculiarity of its matter requires that it be treated separately. If John did not write it, then obviously its content does not belong in a presentation of John's theology. If, however, John did write it, then to present John's theology, while ignoring the Apocalypse, is to present a fragment.

The next point to be considered is the author's view of the *task* of biblical theology. He says (page 1) that "biblical theology undertakes to define the peculiarities of the various types of teaching which are found in Sacred Scripture." In agreement with this he says (Preface xii.): "It can hardly be doubted that there is room in our theological literature for an exposition of the theology of John, which shall set forth the salient features of this great type of New Testament teaching." Accordingly, biblical theology has to do only with the *salient features* of the different types of teaching found in the Bible. This is an unjustifiable narrowing of the sphere of biblical theology. The most eminent writers on the biblical theology of the New Testament — Weiss and Beyschlag — have not conceived of the task in this way. Biblical theology includes *all* the teaching of the Bible, and not merely "the peculiarities of the various types."

Again, all writers on biblical theology agree that it is a *historical* science. This characteristic more than any other marks it off from systematic theology. Now the author seems to sin against this law of biblical theology when he recognizes no distinction between the words of Jesus and the words of John. He says (Preface x.) that "the Fourth Gospel represents in all its parts the Johannine theology." This statement means, apparently, that John endorsed all that Jesus said. Doubtless. But it does not follow that John's own words, which constitute about three-fifths of the Gospel, give us the same doctrines and the same aspects of doctrine which are found in the words of Jesus. To present, as the author does, the doctrine of the words of Jesus as the doctrine of John is simply to obliterate personal characteristics. It is unhistorical. This course is not justified by the difficulty of a perfect separation of the words of Jesus from the words of John. It would be justifiable only in case that the author regarded John's record of the words of Jesus as thoroughly unhistor-

ical, a fabrication out of John's own mind. But we suppose that Professor Stevens does not thus regard John's record.

It remains to speak briefly of the *method* of the book before us. The author seems to proceed from without rather than from within. He comes to the writings of John with the method of the dogmatician rather than with that of biblical theology. This may be sufficiently illustrated from the table of contents. Of the fourteen chapters which directly concern John's theology, only one has anything distinctively Johannean in its title. That is chapter IV. on the doctrine of the Logos. The other titles, if we drop from them the words "John" and "Johannine," might be used as captions under which the teaching of Paul could be presented as well as that of John. They have no flavor from the Johannean writings. They do not suggest the *peculiarities* or the *salient features* of John's writings, which we should naturally expect from the author's preface. They present rather the subjects and the order of arrangement which one may see in the table of contents of any work on systematic theology. This again is evidence that we have before us a dogmatic treatise on the writings of John rather than a work on biblical theology, and a perusal of the book supports this conclusion. The three points which have been briefly discussed appear to be defects when the book of Professor Stevens is regarded from the point of view of biblical theology. However, as a discussion of some features of the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel and of the Epistles of John, the book is a credit to American scholarship.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

ANOTHER OPINION.

To all who have had the pleasure and profit of reading Professor Stevens' presentation of the Pauline theology, this work on the theology of John will come with especial interest. The need of such a work is beyond question; it arises not only from the comparative meagerness of literature on this particular theme but also from the especial worth of the Johannine teachings for our day with its broadening conceptions of truth. The masterly commentaries of Westcott, Reynolds, Godet, Weiss, Luthardt, and Haupt and others have made luminous the line of thought in the Gospel and Epistles; there certainly was room for a synthetic presentation of the great teachings of both. This Professor Stevens aims to give us. Before we note how successfully this has been done we must emphasize the boundaries of this aim. These include no discussion of the authorship of the Gospel nor the consideration of the subjective element. The Johannine authorship is presupposed and both the Gospel and Epistles are received as John's conception of the person and teaching of Christ. The leading question has been, how does this apostle, judging from a careful exegesis of his own words, present the truth to us? The whole value of the books rests, ultimately, of course, upon its exegesis. Three things are evident regarding this: (1) it reveals a full appreciation of the work of the best scholars; (2) it is careful, penetrating and sober; (3) it is independent

and fair. Such an estimate carries with it our estimate of results, and we can say only one thing of them and that is that they are eminently satisfactory. They seem to us to make emphatic just that which needs emphasis and, as against, in certain instances, the conclusions of writers like Wendt or Holtzmann on the one side and Weiss on the other, to keep the golden mean. The absence of a dogmatic assertiveness, the sympathy with the broad truths of the gospel and the careful discrimination of statement and inference must attract all who have made any study of the Johannine writings. For examples of that to which we refer see the chapters on The Union of the Son with the Father, The Doctrine of Love, The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, The Johannine Eschatology. One rises from the perusal of the book with the feeling that the exalted conceptions of the Gospels and the Epistles are established without the forcing of texts either by reading them apart from their connection or by reading interpretations into them. Words are discussed whenever they, as words, bear upon a doctrine and need elucidation, *e. g.*, the verbs used in the statements regarding prayer or in those regarding love. Indeed with comprehensive and well-balanced treatment the author gives us a clear, trustworthy, helpful view of John's teaching. There is a final chapter containing a comparison of Paul's and John's theology which sets forth the distinctive conceptions of each and also their fundamental unity. The whole book is worthy of careful perusal and is a real addition to the literature concerning the Johannine writings. It is well furnished with a bibliography of the subject and an index of texts and subjects.

J. S. RIGGS.

Aus dem Leben des Propheten Jesaia. Neun akademische Kanzel-reden, von DR. RUD. KITTEL.

The object of this excellent little book is best stated in the words of the author, who is well-known to students by his *Geschichte der Hebräer.* "Several essays have appeared lately on the relation of the Old Testament, especially of recent Old Testament research to Christian faith. Far be it from me to say a word against them. I deem it however quite as helpful to show by an example how the Old Testament regarded from the point of view of our present knowledge of it can be made profitable to the congregation to a greater extent than has yet been done." The nine addresses (for Dr. Kittel expressly declines to call them sermons) are arranged in chronological order from the prophet's call to the overthrow of the Assyrians. The subjects are all taken from portions of the book which are generally believed to be from the pen of Isaiah. Each address has a suggestive title and bears on some phase of modern life. It is a scholarly, temperate, and devout contribution to homiletic exegesis.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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WHEN considering the work of any great man of antiquity, it is not unusual, in an attempt to make an allowance for the accretions of tradition, to minimize beyond warrant the work of the man and his influence. It is as natural for some minds thus to minimize, as it is for others to magnify. In no one instance, perhaps, has the minimizing spirit been carried farther than in the case of the great Hebrew prophet and law-giver, Moses. Modern writers, following the example of the historians of Greece and Rome in their treatment of early periods, controlled by the spirit of evolution which demands small beginnings in order that the development may be shown to be regular and natural, have, for the most part, reduced the personality and the work of Moses to a cipher. The purpose of this method of procedure and its results are easily discovered. In order to bring Hebrew history into the same category with other histories, such minimizing is necessary, and the result, in the minds of those who adopt the method, is satisfactorily accomplished when Hebrew history has been thus degraded. But is it just thus to subordinate facts to theory?

THE TENDENCY TO MINIMIZE

THE tendency to magnify, on the other hand, is older and has prevailed almost universally. Here again no better instance can be pointed out than that of Moses. To him tradition from the earliest period has ascribed more than rightly belonged to him. His character was so commanding and his ability so great that naturally men thought it impossible to ascribe too much to him. And as time

THE TENDENCY TO MAGNIFY

passed, with increasing momentum, the representations of Moses became more and more full, more and more ideal, until the real facts have in a measure been lost in the filmy realm of legend.[1] Is it just thus to invent facts in order to furnish a basis for a theory? But is this not done by those who, in the face of the most distinct evidence, attribute directly to Moses laws and institutions which took form centuries after his death?

THE minimizing spirit and the magnifying spirit must be laid aside, and for them we must substitute the spirit of truth, which will lead us patiently to investigate the sources, and thus to secure for ourselves, so far as it is possible to secure it, a really accurate knowledge of the facts in the case. When we find a well-authenticated fact we must not deny its existence because forsooth it does not harmonize with our theory. We must rather look into the theory and see that it is properly adjusted to the facts. With this purpose before us, shall we in the briefest manner possible consider the case of Moses, his antecedents, his work, his personality, the influence of his work, and in conclusion the two opposing theories which have been offered in explanation of it,—the naturalistic and the supernatural.

THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH

IF we endeavor to discover the antecedent elements on the basis of which the work of Moses was accomplished, we must concede that it was to some extent a creation out of nothing. It is true that the Israelitish tribes had inherited some notions about a deity, which separated them distinctly from the Egyptians, in the midst of whom they dwelt; that the Egyptian civilization with which Moses was familiar contained many ideas relating to government, religion and conduct, which centuries of experience had crystallized, and which were gladly accepted by the great law-giver; that his residence with Jethro in Midian must have resulted in the acquisition of much which was at the same time uplifting and

THE ANTECEDENTS OF MOSES

[1] This word is applied in this connection not to anything which is found in the Old Testament, but to that large amount of material concerning Moses which is extra-biblical.

practical. These elements were real and tangible, although it may be difficult at this time to analyze them with any degree of satisfaction. It cannot be doubted that they constituted a larger part of the Mosaic work and influenced the whole of that work to a greater degree than can now be demonstrated. If, for example, we understand that the name Jehovah was an inheritance of the Israelitish tribes, and remember how large a part the idea involved in this name played in the history of the exodus; if besides the Urim and Thummim we may suppose other features of the Mosaic ritual to have had their origin in the Egyptian religion; if to Jethro we may ascribe the first suggestions of civil organization; and if it is true that general ideas contained in the decalogue had been in existence long before Moses' time, we may wonder, perhaps, whether after all the name of Moses represents anything that is new. But this is only one side of the matter. It must be remembered that Egypt, with all the glories of her past civilization, has reached a point beyond which she cannot go; that her religion has already become a hollow mockery and that the beginnings of the death struggle have now appeared; that Israel was as yet not a nation, but only a loose aggregation of Bedouin tribes without organization of any kind, and with no national instinct which should serve as a common bond, ignorant and despoiled, without ambition and without hope; and that whatever ideas of an ethical character have presented themselves to the mind of the ancient world, there had been as yet no gathering of them together into a system, no grouping of them as a definite code. The antecedents of the work of Moses while real and numerous are, nevertheless, general and chaotic.

THE WORK OF MOSES

WHAT did Moses really do? This, after all, is the serious question. That which tradition ascribes to him must without question be divided into three groups. The first group will include that which Moses accepted from those who had preceded him; the second group that which may be assigned directly to him, and the third group that which in later centuries grew out of his work. It will surely be granted

that the Mosaic system includes all three of these elements. It is really the second element of the three which has to do with the question just presented. We must take care not to measure the magnitude of his work by the amount of matter which may clearly be shown to have been written by him. Measured by this standard the work of Jesus Christ would not have been a great work. Nor do we detract much from him if, after inquiry, it turns out to be true that he was not, as commonly supposed, the compiler of the Pentateuch. The greatness of Moses does not lie in the direction either of writing or compiling. In what then does it consist? (1) In his clear perception of ethical truth, for it is certain that the standards indicated by him, when interpreted in connection with the circumstances in which they had their origin, were the highest that had been formulated, and remained the highest until the preaching of the Sermon on the Mount. (2) In his clear conception of religious truth, for however monolatristic the tribes of Israel at this time may have been, it was permitted Moses to see God as *one* God—ruler of Israel and at the same time the creator of the world—Jehovah and Elohim. (3) In his ability as organizer and leader of his people—and here history fails to present an instance of the exhibition of greater power of leadership. (4) In proposing principles of government which contain in germ the principles underlying the organization of all modern republics. (5) In laying the foundations of a religion which in its development through centuries was directly to prepare the way for the religion of the Christ and which in its progress was to anticipate in a striking manner the essential principles of the Christian religion. (6) In regulating the beginnings of the national history which should henceforth furnish the basis for the revelation from on high of great and eternal truths. But, it is asked, how much of this did Moses himself actually accomplish? We answer: (1) He formulated the decalogue and under inspiration of heaven impressed upon it ideas which had never before been formulated, namely, the sin of idolatry and the sin which exists in wrong purpose or intent. (2) He formulated the covenant code (Ex. 21–23), the constitution of the hexateuchal legislation, a code which contains in

germ every enactment of the hexateuch. (3) He without doubt passed judgment on the many early stories handed down by tradition, selecting those in connection with which great truths should be taught, purifying them of the dross which the ages had connected with them, and handing them down *for* the people and *through* the people until that later time when they assumed their present literary form. (4) He furnished the foundation upon which should be built not merely (*a*) the Mosaic system of legislation, but (*b*) the monarchical system which was later developed and (*c*) the prophetic system of which he was at the same time the beginning and the highest representative. When now we consider this actual work, in comparison on the one hand with the antecedent material of which he made use, and on the other with the development of his own ideas and institutions after his death, two things impress us: the magnitude of the work itself and its close connection with and at the same time its marked advance upon the times of which it formed a part. This suggests the question of the personality of Moses.

The Personality of Moses

If the representations of the Old Testament are in any sense correct, the history of the chosen people groups itself about a succession of wonderful personalities. These personalities, indeed, make up the greater portion of this history. There are twelve or fifteen names the omission of which from the canonical records would result in the entire destruction of these records. Among the first in time and foremost among all is that of Moses. He is no abstract conception. His name is in the mouth of almost every writer of Hebrew literature. His work as leader is constantly referred to. His position throughout is one of exalted prominence. But there is nothing here of that hero-worship which constitutes so large a part of the early records of Rome and Greece. There is nowhere the slightest hint of deification; on the contrary, this strongest of heroes is in his last hours bowed down with humiliation, overwhelmed with reproach, and forbidden, because of his sin, to see the promised land towards which his eyes had so long been directed. The personality of Moses

is something so strong and commanding as to have left its impress upon almost every page of Old Testament Scripture. If there existed no such personality it is impossible to account for the influence which it or the semblance of it has exerted in later history. The figure of Moses stands out distinct and definite, embodying in tangible form the ideas which are found to exist and which must have had this or similar embodiment. Cut off Moses, and Israelitish history, if we may compare it to the human body, has lost its head. Take away Moses, and Israelitish history, if the comparison be that of a structure, is a structure without foundation. With Moses removed, Israelitish history, if it is viewed as simple history, is history without a beginning.

The Naturalistic Explanation

Shall we now believe that Moses was the natural product of his times; that on a purely naturalistic hypothesis his work and personality may be explained? Given the Egypt of 1500 B. C., the degraded tribes of Israel of the same period, a new dynasty upon the throne of Egypt, and the outcome which appears in events narrated is but a natural outcome, containing nothing in it of the element of the extraordinary. Moses, so far from being a creative spirit, is to be reduced to the rank of imitator and compiler. Naturally quick to take advantage of circumstances, well trained in the discipline of his times, ambitious to be reckoned a leader of men, he did what any man of good ability under the circumstances would have done, this and nothing more. That which seems to be extraordinary is to be regarded as the invention of the imagination of later centuries and consequently to be ruled out. That which seems to indicate the working out of a great plan formed centuries beforehand, a plan which now for the first time is taking shape—all this is the imagination of prophet or priest of later age. There is nothing in all this greater or more significant than that which has happened at critical periods in the history of other nations. There is nothing in all this which requires, or indeed which will admit an explanation based upon anything of an especially dif-

ferent character. Is such a representation consistent with the facts as attested by outside history, with the facts as attested by the later history of the nation? Such an explanation, it may be affirmed, is possible only when the leading facts have been ruled out as unworthy of credence. Shall we take this position? No.

ANOTHER EXPLANATION

GRANTING now that much of the legislation which seems to be ascribed directly to Moses is rather an outgrowth of that which was distinctly Mosaic; granting that much of it had its roots in laws and institutions and customs which existed before his time, and admitting the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between these three elements, which, taken together, constitute the Mosaic work in its largest sense, it remains true that to Moses may fairly be ascribed the whole, since he assumed the responsibility of selecting from a storehouse of antiquity that which under the guidance of God was to be appropriated as a part of the new system, and since likewise to him should be given the credit, humanly speaking, of everything which was a legitimate outgrowth of the principles which he established. From this point of view it follows that Moses must continue to occupy the place of prominence which has always been accorded him. Criticism has only substantiated the claims of those who would ascribe to Moses this unique position. But, if the position is thus unique, is it purely the outcome of natural forces? If Moses and his work form the basis of the structure which culminates in the Christ, if the institutions of Moses, each and every one point forward to the coming of this Christ, if the prophetic order established by Moses had for its chief work the preparation of Israel, and through Israel the world, for the coming of the Christ, if the royal order of Israel provided for by Moses was to represent in song and in history the great king of David's line, whose throne should be eternal, how can we satisfy ourselves with a purely naturalistic explanation? If the divine hand had to do with anything in this development towards Christianity, must it not have dealt with the times of Moses, must it not have shared in the work of Moses? In view of all the facts we must, on the one hand,

reject the naturalistic hypothesis which would make the whole a natural development, we must also reject the ordinary form of the supernatural hypothesis which makes the history of Israel a matter of mere machinery, and we must combine the two in one, accepting an hypothesis of development, indeed of natural development, with, however, a supernatural as well as a natural factor as its basis. Granting the purpose of God to work in and through man, granting the existence of this divine element as one of the essential factors, the work of Moses is explained and its place and influence in Israelitish history become clear. We shall then recognize the special action of a higher power in the work of the centuries which preceded Moses, and from which he drew rich material, as well as in the work of the centuries which follow Moses in which the seed which he planted under divine guidance grew up and yielded harvest.

THEORIES OF INSPIRATION.

By The Rev. M. A. Willcox, D.D.,
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The world an arena of wrestling antitheses.— Theology, an effort to harmonize the antitheses of religion.— Theories of inspiration — Destructive theories; inspiration, confounded with revelation — with intuition — with illumination.— Verbal theories — of dictation — of infallible guidance.— Conceptual theories — ethical and religious inspiration — inspiration of the mysteries of religion — the Christ-theory.— Conclusion.

The universe is an arena of wrestling antitheses. It is constituted, one would be ready to say, of antithetic ideas and counteracting forces. They are the raw material of philosophy, religion and human life. They have preëmpted every field of knowledge and action. In the words of Jesus Sirach, "The works of God are two and two, one against the other."

We have such fundamental and comprehensive antitheses as matter and spirit, the natural and the supernatural, the phenomenal and the real. In psychology we have sensation and reflection, perception and conception, feeling and will, experience and intuition, reason and imagination. In ethics we have pleasure and duty, self-sacrifice and self-development, egoism and altruism. In philosophy, we have the absolute and the relative, form and substance, the real and the ideal, subject and object, freedom and necessity, liberty and law. In the natural world we have light and darkness, rest and motion, centripetal and centrifugal forces, integration and disintegration, life and death. In the social and civil world we have the individual and society, progress and conservatism, public spirit and private privilege; in the industrial world, labor and capital, production and consumption; in government, justice and mercy, centralization and popularization; in knowledge, empirical and rational, scientific and philosophic; in reasoning, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction; in education, humanistic and utilitarian, ethical and æsthetical, religious and secular. In character we have initiative and insight,

fortitude and humility, virtue and vice, with many others which everyone will readily recall. *Here*, indeed, how often truth seems to be equivalent to the "balanced antithesis of errors." Thus self-control may be viewed as the yoke of reciprocity between indulgence and asceticism; self-respect as the mediation of inordinate self-assertion and sycophancy; courage as the reconciliation of timidity and rashness. We have such general antitheses as the positive and the negative, the yea and the nay, life and organization, thought and action, theory and practice. The unique power of the human hand lies in the opposition of the thumb and fingers, and the perpetuation of our physical life may be said to depend upon the effective counteraction of the jaws. The theme, in music, rests upon the antithesis of long and short sounds; and the sentence, in language, upon that of the noun and verb. In religion we have the antitheses of truth and grace, of sin and righteousness, of faith and reason, of zeal and knowledge; and underlying and embracing these, and many others, the fundamental and comprehensive one of the divine and the human.

Thus it seems evident that the universe, whatever else it is, is at least a system inlaid with antitheses—a complex of contrasts—a mighty fabric of oppositions. It is evident, also, that the task of thought, in such a universe, must consist largely in the effort to discover those higher principles of unity, in which its varied oppositions are harmonized, its wrestling antitheses reconciled.

When, therefore, we enter the sphere of theology we find that it consists, in large measure, of the effort of human thought to harmonize the antitheses of religion; and especially to discover the reconciliation in its doctrines of its fundamental and pervading antithesis of the divine and the human. Thus the mystery of the incarnation is the method of the union of the divine and human in the personality of our Lord; the mystery of regeneration is the method of the coöperation of the divine and human in the spiritual birth of the soul; the mystery of sanctification is the method of the divine and human co-action in the soul's growth in holiness; and the mystery of inspiration may be said to be the method of the coöperation of the divine Spirit with the human spirit in the production of the sacred Scriptures.

This introduction is perhaps too long; but the object has been simply to indicate in a general way what the problem of inspiration *is;* and more particularly its *place* in the world of thought; to outline its *external* relations before seeking to apprehend, in some measure, its *internal* relations.

It is evident that a problem of such interest and significance as the method and measure of coöperation respectively of the divine and the human in inspiration, would attract the study of many minds, and that the solutions proposed would be many and diverse. It is not the purpose of this article to propose a new solution of this problem; but to present merely a succinct statement or digest of the *principal types* or *classes of theories* which have been proposed by theological thinkers.

The *first* class of theories to which we give attention may be designated as nullifying, or destructive theories; since they, in effect, annul or abrogate a proper inspiration by confusing with it, or substituting for it, something else diverse from it. They render a distinctive inspiration superfluous, by supplanting it with a neutralizing conception.

Of this class, we notice, *first*, the theory which describes inspiration as the subjective effect merely of revelation. It has been customary to regard revelation as the supernatural communication of truth to the mind, and inspiration as such a supernatural illumination and control of the faculties of the recipient, as enables him adequately to apprehend and reproduce the truth so communicated.

If this be a true account of the distinction between revelation and inspiration, it seems evident that a view of the latter which explains it as the subjective effect merely of the former, merges inspiration in revelation, as its sufficient causal antecedent, and deprives it of any immediately supernatural character or function of its own. It seems evident that by this theory inspiration is not disengaged from revelation—there is no such thing as a distinctive and proper inspiration involving supernatural illumination and control in the reception and communication of revealed truth. The mind of the recipient is left to itself, to struggle, unaided, with the heavenly vision. There is revelation indeed,

but no divine interpreter to assist the finite faculties in grasping its transcendent materials. Neither is there any immediate divine guidance, or superintendence of prophet or apostle, in his effort to convey to others the things revealed.

The supernatural agency is viewed as occupied simply with the disclosure of truth, and not as directly influencing its appropriation by the recipient, or its subsequent reproduction for others. Such a theory, which reduces inspiration to an attribute merely of revelation, surrenders apparently any specific inspiration of the Scriptures, as such, and thus essentially nullifies and abrogates it.

A *second* theory which must be assigned to this class is that which confuses inspiration with intuition. This theory supposes the phenomena of inspiration to be accounted for by that natural elevation of the faculties which we call genius. The perception of ethical and religious truth by seer, prophet and apostle, is entirely analogous to the intuitive insight of poet and philosopher, and to the flash of scientific and inventive discovery. The spheres and the aptitudes, indeed, are diverse, but the agency and the process are identical. The human mind effects its conquests of religious and spiritual truth by the same means with which it wins its triumphs in science, art and philosophy. In these spheres, truth is wholly mediated by nature. The mind receives no immediate illumination or impulse from the divine mind. Its action does not transcend its inherent powers.

It is always dependent for its acquisitions upon natural phenomena. The world of nature and of history furnishes the materials of reflection, and intuition, in some favored moment, seizes their thrilling significance. In like manner it is conceived that truths of God and the soul, of faith and immortality, are the exquisite discoveries of religious genius. Inspiration is a high order of religious intuition. But the true conception of inspiration is not that of a mediated discovery of truth, but that of an illumination and impulse immediately communicated by the divine mind.

It seems evident, therefore, that this theory also explains inspiration by abrogating it.

A *third* theory which apparently belongs here may be designated as the theory of gracious inspiration. This theory confuses inspiration proper with that ordinary indwelling of the Holy Spirit in believers, by which they are guided into the apprehension of such religious truth as will enable them to exhibit the fruits of practical piety. It is thought that the ordinary ministrations of the Holy Spirit, by which revealed truth is vitalized and gracious dispositions fostered in the heart, are not different in *kind* from that by which new truth is imparted and appropriated. Thus, growth in grace, or holiness, and inspiration are, in the last analysis, essentially one.

But it seems necessary to distinguish between an activity of the divine Spirit which merely helps receptivity and appropriation of that which is already revealed, and such an activity as imparts new truth and makes original communications to the mind. The distinction is as fundamental as that between the reason and the will, between an intellectual and an ethical process; and it is difficult to see how a theory which ignores it can logically attach to the Scriptures that idea of specific conveyance of original communications, which has been held by the great majority of believers to constitute the unique characteristic of the Holy Scriptures. Thus, in each one of these theories, the problem of the coöperation of the divine and human in inspiration is resolved by its virtual dismissal and nullification.

It is characteristic of the theories which we assign to the *second* class, that they emphasize the *divine* element in inspiration, and affirm *inerrancy* of the sacred writings. They are, in general, of two sorts, and are properly designated as verbal theories; for the reason that they represent the words of Scripture as invariably included, with more or less directness, in the inspiring act.

The *first* of these theories is usually designated as the theory of dictation. By this theory the subject of inspiration is sometimes represented as in an ecstasy, trance, or swoon, and sometimes as the amanuensis, pen, or harp, of the inspiring spirit, but always as the passive vehicle of the *words* of inspiration, which are conceived as transmitted through the medium of prophet or apostle, absolutely without error or modification by human elements.

This theory has been characterized sometimes as "mechanical," because its view of inspiration is almost wholly objective, that of an immediate divine act, without any appreciable co-active agency on the part of man. The Scriptures are thus regarded as absolutely infallible in every respect, and transcendently divine. Thus Gaussen says: "The style of Moses, Ezekiel and Luke is the style of God;" and Tregelles says: "I believe the books of the Old and New Testament to be *verbally* the word of God, as absolutely as were the ten commandments written by the finger of God upon two tables of stone." This theory expresses probably the rabbinical, the Alexandrian, the patristic and the scholastic view of inspiration. It is probable that it expresses also the prevailing view of the church at large, at least until modern criticism awakened doubts of its correctness. It expresses, certainly, what is confessedly true of portions, at least, of the Scriptures where God himself utters specific declarations, commandments, or prophecies. And yet it is doubtful whether this theory does not ignore, almost as entirely as the theories of the preceding class, the proper problem of inspiration, on account of its extreme repression of the human element in its jealous exaltation of the divine.

The *second* of the two contrasted verbal theories rejects the method of dictation and substitutes that of infallible guidance. Sometimes this theory has been designated "plenary," as expressing the *full* inspiration of the sacred writings in *every part*, and sometimes "dynamic," as expressing either the supernatural power by which the mind of the sacred writer is infallibly guided, or the natural power by which it coöperates with the supernatural in the infallible selection of *words* divinely approved. The mind of prophet and apostle is represented as exercising a spontaneous coöperation with the divine, but not such as to allow any human imperfection to mar the sacred writings—not such as to jeopardize, in any instance, the ultimate selection of the divinely approved words.

These are as absolutely secured as in the theory of dictation; but by a subtle and indescribable process of spiritual influence, suggestion, direction or superintendence, by which the mind is

infallibly guided to the choice of approved words, though the words themselves are not imparted. The process may perhaps be conceived as one of gradual elimination of improper words, by a series of supernatural *vetos*, until the mind rests at length in the precise words sanctioned by the inspiring spirit. There is no difference in result between this theory and the preceding one of dictation. The difference is in the process or method of effecting the result. In the former theory the words are viewed as conveyed; in this they are viewed as evoked. But, however produced, they are conceived as sanctioned by the divine mind; and the characteristic feature of both theories is, therefore, that *words* having the sanction of the inspiring spirit are infallibly secured, *and no error whatever* can be ascribed to the sacred writings. It is for this reason that we designate both theories verbal and inerrant, though some of the advocates of the latter view object to the designation "verbal." It may be observed here that the designations "deductive" and "*a priori*" so frequently applied in recent times to these theories do not characterize them either in their processes or results, but merely indicate their imputed ground in the presupposition that infallible accuracy in the minutest details *must characterize* a divinely accredited revelation. In the language, substantially, of a recent writer, the book of *God* must be *oracular* in all its parts and elements, infallible in every affirmation and representation.

We pass now to a class of theories which place greater emphasis upon the *human* element in inspiration, and admit unimportant errors in the sacred writings. They may be designated as conceptual theories, since their characteristic contention is that inspiration relates essentially to the *concept* and not to the *words*—to the material and not to the form. The human element is conceived as liberated. The natural powers of the mind are aided, indeed, and stimulated in their efforts to grasp and reproduce the substance of revelation, but the sacred writers are not limited in their *forms of expression.* Just as the advocates of the theory of infallible guidance do not deem verbal dictation necessary to the adequate expression of revealed truth, so, in turn, conceptualists disincline to condition the verities of rev-

elation upon the divine authorization and infallible accuracy of *all* its verbal forms. The trustworthiness and authority of the sacred Scriptures are not believed by them to be dependent upon prescribed forms of expression. The thought or concept rather than the words, constitutes the essence of inspiration. And whatever view may be entertained of the inter-relation of thought and language, experience proves that a given concept may receive different and even, in unimportant respects, *defective* forms of expression without impairing its essential integrity.

Conceptual theories are susceptible of a *threefold division*. We consider *first* the theory of ethical and religious inspiration. This theory is derived in large measure from a consideration of the *great end* of inspiration, which is confessedly ethical and religious. This great end, therefore, will determine its method and scope. The Scriptures evince abundantly, indeed, their inspiration in all that relates directly to ethical and religious teaching and to representations, especially, of the kingdom of God. Such other materials as they contain are wholly incidental to these and may naturally exhibit signs of human imperfection, but *relatively to their great end* of imparting ethical and religious truth—of subserving the progress of the kingdom of God—they are without error. In respect to all that is germane to this, their supreme and essential purpose, they are an infallible guide, though their incidental details cannot be assured. In the language of Tholuck, "The Bible, as we have it, cannot, in any case, be held to be verbally inspired, and hence the contents of Scripture, *in all its details*, cannot be regarded as externally guaranteed." Thus incidental allusions in Scripture, such as Paul's message to Carpus to send him "the cloak" which he "left at Troas," with "the parchments," and poetical quotations, like the song of Lamech, and the apostrophe to the sun and moon in Joshua, from the book of Jasher, and the patriotic strains in which Deborah praises the subtlety of Jael in the murder of Sisera, need not be regarded as inspired. Indeed, the advocates of this theory insist that the Scriptures may contain errors in science and history, without prejudice to their representations of God, the soul and immortality. They may naturally exhibit

chronological, geological and astronomical mistakes, as irrelevant to the great ethical and religious ends of inspiration. In the quaint language of one writer, "The Bible teaches how to go to heaven, not how the heavens go." God, who is intent on salvation and the triumph in man of the principles of the divine kingdom, must be viewed as relatively indifferent to errors in secular matters, and cannot be thought of as turning aside from his great and absorbing object to correct a grammatical or topographical inaccuracy. Indeed, the *facts*, it is maintained, require this theory. For there are, as a matter of fact, many acknowledged, though unimportant, errors in the Bible, and this theory, it is believed, furnishes the true reconciliation of this incontestable fact, with the infallible authority of the Scriptures in those essential matters which relate to faith, duty and salvation. The Bible "*contains*" the word of God; to affirm that it "*is*" the word of God throughout and in all the minutiæ of its representations is simply to disregard the undeniable characteristics which its pages exhibit.

To these views, verbalists reply, acknowledging the presence of errors in the Bibles which we *now have*, but contend that these errors are due to the mistakes of copyists, translators, and printers, and that the *original autographs* of the sacred texts were wholly free from error.

But to this conceptualists rejoin that the absolute inerrancy of the original autographs is an unscientific assumption, incapable of proof, since the original autographs are *lost*, and can never be recovered; while, on the other hand, the accredited principles of textual and literary criticism indicate the almost certain presence of some, at least, of these errors in the original autographs; and that the assumption itself is an afterthought of the verbalists, to which, on the one hand, they have been driven by their forced recognition of errors in the existing text; and, on the other hand, lured by their presupposition that a divine revelation must of necessity be characterized by infallible accuracy. They contend, furthermore, that no *sufficient reason* can be assigned for the existence of inerrant autographs, which does not require inerrancy, also, in the Bibles which we *now have;* since but a few of

the early Christians ever *saw* the original autographs, while the multitude of believers through all the centuries of the church's history have been obliged to depend—and *not in vain*—upon Bibles which have not been wholly free from error. If an absolutely inerrant New Testament, they ask, was necessary for the first generation of Christians, why was it not at least equally necessary for each succeeding generation of Christians? For these reasons, it is regarded by conceptualists extremely unwise, not to say fanatical, to insist upon a theory of inspiration which requires one to say, with an eminent verbalist, "One proved error in the Holy Scriptures would *invalidate the claims of revelation.*"[1]

A *second* conceptual theory may be designated as inspiration of the mysteries of religion. Advocates of this view doubt the adequacy of the preceding theory to explain all the imperfections due to the presence of the human element in the Scriptures, and believe that additional features must be referred to this element. In their opinion, inspiration must be further restricted to those things which are *not discoverable by human reason*, such as the nature of God, the incarnation, the resurrection and the future life. It is believed that a considerable part of the ethical and religious teaching of the Scriptures is but a reaffirmation of the intuitions of reason, and of the deductions of experience; as is evidenced, indeed, by the presence of these elements in inculcations of other religions. Thus it is thought unnecessary to ascribe precepts of truthfulness, honesty, temperance, courtesy, hospitality and natural affection to inspiration. Especially it is believed to *imperil* inspiration to ascribe to it the ethical and religious sanctions, expressed or implied, of the cruelties practiced upon the Canaanites; the dire vengeance implored by the psalmist upon his enemies; and the bitter destruction represented as actually wrought by Queen Esther and her people upon their enemies. These and other similar characteristics must certainly have their origin, not in inspiration, but in the imperfections of the human heart. And why, too, it

[1] Some theorists incline to limit inspiration to the ethical and religious elements in the Bible, but regard *these elements* as *verbally* inspired. Such a composite or eclectic theory belongs naturally to those minor varieties, which, whatever their merits, could not be embraced, conveniently, in a brief outline like the present.

is asked, should a love-song like Canticles, too oriental in coloring for ethical appropriation by occidental Christians, and the morbid pessimism of a book like Ecclesiastes, be ascribed to inspiration? It seems evident, therefore, for these and other reasons, that the divine element in the Scriptures cannot be wisely extended beyond those mysteries which the natural reason cannot penetrate, and, for the knowledge of which we are obviously indebted to supernatural agency.

Conceptualists of a *third* class circumscribe the sphere of inspiration within still narrower limits, and propose what may be designated the *Christ-theory*, as characterized, not unlike the so-called "Christ-party" in the church at Corinth, by a peculiar preëminence ascribed to the *personal* teaching of our Lord. Advocates of this view distrust the absolute accuracy of some of the representations made by other sacred authorities, even in the higher ranges of Scripture truth. Prophetic and apostolic conceptions, even here, may be defective, and apostolic reasoning, in these high altitudes, is quite certainly sometimes untrustworthy. The erroneous inferences which the apostles drew from Christ's words, to the effect that his return was to be expected during the lifetime of their own generation, indicate that even inspired men falter in their efforts to attain the summits of revelation. The allegory in the letter to the Galatians is essentially rabbinical, or Alexandrian, and has no universal significance. The correspondence between Adam and Christ, parenthetically instituted by the apostle in the letter to the Romans, is, probably, a misconception, due to necessarily imperfect knowledge of anthropology, and ignorance of the law of evolution. There is reason to believe that, in some minor respects, even the reports of our Lord's utterances, somewhat variously recorded by the evangelists—who, indeed, themselves make no claim to inspiration, but only to faithful narration—are susceptible of correction. These peculiarities need not, however, embarrass us. We need remember only that revelation is manifestly progressive,—"by divers portions and in divers manners"—and respects Christ's law of parsimony;—"I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Let it suffice us that enough of the clear

light of revealed truth is given to convince each docile generation of sin and righteousness, and to guide the sincere spirit in the way of life. Let it be borne in mind, however, that the criterion of discrimination, in all instances, is the infallible norm of *Christ's characteristic teaching*, as apprehended by the Christian consciousness. To this supreme arbitrament, all revelation—prophecy, poetry, history and epistle—must be brought for comparison and characterization. In a word, so much of the Bible is inspired as can be shown to accord with the accredited teachings of Jesus Christ.

It is, perhaps, difficult to avoid regarding this theory as semi-rationalistic, on account of its qualified view of apostolic authority. Its friends contend, however, that when the theory of absolute apostolic authority has been sufficiently modified by the customary method of variously explaining away peculiar apostolic precepts, opinions and inferences, the theory is no longer a commanding one; and it is believed to be both simpler in method, and truer to the facts, to admit at once that *absolute* authority can attach alone to the *personal* teaching of our Lord.

A discreet rabbi wrote, "Teach thy lips to say I do not know." I do not think I have ever known *how* the Scriptures were inspired. I have read in them statements which seem to me to affirm the *fact* of their inspiration, as, for example: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets, by divers portions and in divers manners, hath, at the end of these days, spoken unto us in his Son" (Heb. 1:1). "Every Scripture inspired of God," or, as we may render it, "Every *God-breathed* Scripture is, also, profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3:16). I believe I have observed in the Scriptures, in human lives, characteristics which prove the truth of those declarations, and others like them. Yet, after a fresh study of the subject, in the most recent writings of the ablest theorists at home and abroad, I am, I think, no surer than ever before *how* the Scriptures were inspired; but I believe they are, in *fact* inspired; and I humbly trust that if I make some systematic and persistent effort to conform my life to the implications of such a faith, I shall, by the grace of God, be saved.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By Dr. Gustav Weil.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D. and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

It should be noted that this translation is not always literal. The aim has been to convey the author's exact meaning in idiomatic English. Weil's opening paragraph has been omitted for reasons obvious to one who has consulted the original. The spelling of proper names has been conformed to the original Arabic, except in the case of thoroughly Anglicized words.

For the convenience of the student a list of the more accessible works on the life of Muhammad is given below:

1. Weil, Dr. Gustav: *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, 1843. A complete life of the prophet giving in great detail the sources of information concerning him.

2. Muir, Sir Wm., *Life of Mahomet*, 4 vols., 1861. The most elaborate work in English, containing much introductory material concerning pre-Islamitic Arabia which is of great value.

3. Muir, Sir Wm., *The Life of Mahomet*, 1 vol., 1877. A thoroughly useful abridgment of the four-volume edition.

4. Muir, Sir Wm., *Mahomet and Islam.* Revised edition, 1887. An excellent popular sketch of the prophet's life, embodying the ideas of the preceding volumes.

5. Dozy, Prof. R. P. A. *Essai sur l'Histoire d'Islamisme*, pp. 1–110. A very choice sketch, especially valuable for its discussion of the conditions which prepared the way for Islam.

6. Sprenger, A. *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, 3 vols., 1862. Valuable for the attention paid to traditions, but quite radical in its conclusions.

7. Müller, A. *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vols., 1885. Vol. I. pp. 44–172. An interesting but disconnected sketch of Muhammad's life, discussing especially his motives and character.

8. Palmer, E. H. *The Qur'ân*, Vol VI. in "Sacred Books of the East," 1880. The introduction includes a discussion of this theme.

9. Stobart, J. W. H. *Islam and its Founder.* (Non-Christian Religious Systems) 1876. Very valuable as a convenient compendium of facts, but written in a very controversial spirit.

10. Irving, Washington. *Life of Mahomet.* A very interesting life, which ranks high as literature but cannot be used as an authority.

11. Wellhausen, Prof. Julius. Article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. xvi. pp. 545–61. A thoroughly candid and philosophical discussion.

12. Hughes, Rev. T. P. *A Dictionary of Islam*, 1885. A cyclopædia of Muhammadan biography, customs and theology. Note especially the article on Muhammad's character (p. 387 ff.) containing the estimates of the best critics.

PART FIRST. THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD.

1. *Muhammad's birth and early life.*—Muhammad was born at Mecca, the chief city of Central Arabia, in April,[1] A. D. 571. He belonged to the influential family of the Quraish. His grandfather, Abd al Muttalib, and his great-grandfather, Hashim, were possessors of some spiritual authority; and the latter's grandfather, Kussai, had also obtained temporal power. Influence and power had passed, however, before Muhammad's birth, to another branch of the Quraish and Abd Allah, his father, was a poor and insignificant merchant.[2] His mother, Amina, who was also a descendant of Kussai, lost her husband shortly after the birth of her son. According to the custom of the time, she handed over her child to a Bedouin nurse, who kept him rather more than two years. She then brought him back to Mecca, because he was afflicted with epileptic fits, which she, according to the common opinion in the East, ascribed to evil spirits. In his sixth year he lost his mother. The boy received a fatherly welcome from his grandfather, Abd al Muttalib, and, after his death, from his uncle, Abu Talib. Definite information about his youth is unfortunately lacking.[3] We only know with certainty that he made several trading journeys with his uncles to Syria and to Southern Arabia, on which he became acquainted with the deplorable condition of his country, owing, in some communities, to the oppression of alien rulers, and in others to internal decay. We also know that he later did business both for himself and for others; and that he spent some time as a herdsman in the neighborhood of Mecca. At the age of twenty-five he won the hand of a rich widow, Khadîja, also of the race of Kussai, in whose employ he had been. Henceforth he

[1] For discussion of this date *cf.* Müller, Vol. I. p. 44 note.

[2] This is mentioned in the Quran as a reason for the unbelief of many Meccans, for they said that if the revelation was really from God, it would have been entrusted to a more important man than Muhammad, Sura 43:30. His only reply was that it was the grace of God, Sura 28:85, 86.

[3] All that can be said about these earlier years is stated by Muir, chaps. 1 and 2 (abr. edit.); also Hughes' *Dict. Islam*, pp. 367–9. His unusual purity of mind and correctness of conduct won him the popular title of *al-Amîn*, "the faithful."

lived in Mecca, devoting himself more to religious meditation than to commercial transactions.

II. *Influences which led him to institute a new religion.*— In Arabia at this time both Judaism and Christianity were very prominent. The former prevailed in the South, the Hijaz, and in Medina; the latter in Abyssinia, in the South, and on the Syrian border. Entire tribes as well as individuals had embraced one of these religions. Idolatry was at that time fast losing its hold; and in Central Arabia was retained more out of reverence for ancestors or from self-interest than from any real religious feeling. Among those who were monotheists before Muhammad began to preach was a cousin of Muhammad's wife, Waraqa[1] Ibn Naufal. He embraced Judaism and afterwards Christianity, read both the New and Old Testaments and translated a portion of the former into Arabic. We may fairly assume that this scholar had a great influence upon the impressionable spirit of his relative and aroused him to thoughtfulness on religious questions. But Muhammad found in both revealed religions, as they were taught at his time in Arabia, too many shortcomings to make it possible for him to embrace either of them. He always regarded Moses and Christ as apostles of the Lord, divinely selected to regenerate corrupt humanity; but the Old Testament with which he came into contact was but a dead letter and the Christianity which he knew was a dogmatism leading to most perverted views of the reality of God and bordering on polytheism. Abraham, who united belief in one God with love for humanity, was his ideal apostle of Allah, whose faith he could share with full conviction. As soon as he felt himself called to appear among his people as a religious teacher, he was the more ready to present Abraham as a pattern since he was regarded by the people of Mecca and the neighboring provinces as their progenitor and as the founder of the holy temple to which, from the earliest times, yearly pilgrimages were made. The fundamental elements of the new religion were the existence of one God, neither a triune God nor one surrounded by

[1] Compare Sprenger, Vol. I., 124–134, where is gathered up all available information regarding Waraqa.

inferiors, who made known his will through prophets, and a future world, in which the righteous were to be rewarded and the ungodly punished. Whether Muhammad raised himself to such a spiritual height by his own reflection or whether Waraqa discovered serious shortcomings in the Christianity which he had accepted in the place of Judaism, and made them known to Muhammad, cannot now be historically determined, although Muslim authorities inform us that Waraqa shared Muhammad's views and encouraged him in his mission as a reformer of Judaism and Christianity. Likewise we cannot say with certainty whether Muhammad, in order to gain more credence and recognition among his weak contemporaries purposely represented what he considered the truth as a direct revelation from heaven, or whether, on the authority of some biblical passages, he actually considered himself supernaturally inspired by God, and—at least at the beginning—thought he really had to do with angels who brought the word of God to him from heaven and commanded him to proclaim it to lost humanity. But we rather incline to the latter view, for he frequently suffered from epileptic fits, which in his time were considered a misfortune caused by evil spirits. He at first regarded himself as one possessed by a demon and only by degrees arrived at the conviction that evil spirits could have no power over a man devoted to God like himself. So, supported by his purity of heart, he might have ascribed the states of unconsciousness, followed by visions, which he frequently experienced, to an intercourse with angels, and considered that which filled his soul after his return to consciousness a divine inspiration.

III. *Meager results of Muhammad's early preaching.*—Muhammad was, according to Muslim tradition, about forty years old when he received the first revelation from heaven. However, he communicated this, and those immediately following, only to his wife, Khadîja, his young cousin Ali, and his most trusted friends. It was not until he had made about forty proselytes, among whom, however, only a few, such as the future caliphs, Abu Bakr and Uthman, belonged to the wealthier and more influential classes, that some Quran verses appeared which bade him come forth

openly as a preacher and defy the raillery of the unbelievers. Then he strove with all his might against the superstition of the people of Mecca, exhorted them to lead a moral, godly life, and demanded that they should believe in an all-powerful, all-wise, eternal, indivisible, just, yet merciful God who had filled him, as well as other prophets before him, with divine inspiration, and who in a future life would bring both righteous and sinful to judgment, and reward or punish. But Muhammad found no favor among his nearest relatives; Abu Talib did not adopt his faith and Abu Lahab, another uncle, even threw a stone[1] at him to silence him. Some said, "Are we to give up the faith of our fathers and follow this innovator?" Others said, "Is he of more importance than any other poet or soothsayer?"[2] Some said he was crazy, others called him in definite terms a liar, and all demanded a miracle as proof of his mission.

IV. *The first emigration.*—But although Muhammad was exposed to the scorn and insult of the idolaters of Mecca, nevertheless his yet influential family protected him from further violence. On the other hand, many Muslims who were without protection were obliged, in the fifth year of his mission, to leave Arabia and seek refuge on African soil in order to escape ill-treatment at the hands of the Quraish.[3] Muhammad himself at this time was so cast down and discouraged that he, either from fear or in the hope of succeeding more readily in this way, for a moment raised the idols of Mecca, which he had hitherto represented as powerless, to the position of mediators between God and man. However, he soon recovered himself and declared his earlier opinion to be a suggestion of Satan,[4] whereupon naturally the persecution of his enemies increased. Shortly afterwards Hamza, one of the bravest and strongest men of Mecca, touched by the situation of his nephew, at once took the field against Abu Jahl, one

[1] With reference to this compare Sura 111.

[2] Compare Sura 69:40–44.

[3] A. D. 615. This action was important. It proved the sincerity, self-sacrifice and determination of the Muslims, and gave the new religion a standing, even with the hostile Quraish.

[4] Compare Suras 53:19–23; 17:75, 76. For an excellent statement *cf.* Palmer Vol. I., chap. xxvi.

of the most zealous supporters of the old faith, and soon publicly confessed Islam. Umar also followed his example, partly from conviction and partly on account of his sister, who for some time had been a secret adherent of Muhammad and in whose house he had found some fragments of the Quran.[1] Soon afterwards when Abu Talib found out that Umar, previous to his conversion, had plotted against the life of Muhammad, he feared that some one else would attempt it, impelled either by religious fanaticism or by offers from the Quraish. So he took him away from the city and brought him to his fortified estate.

V. *The ban.*—The Quraish, enraged at Abu Talib's measures, now demanded the surrender of Muhammad, and when he stoutly refused to surrender his nephew to them he and all his house who sided with him were put under the ban. For three years all intercourse was dropped between the Quraish and the Hashimites, that is between the descendants of Abd Shams and Naufal and those of Muttalib and Hashim, the four grandsons of Kussai. Therefore Muhammad was able to pursue his vocation of preacher only during the holy pilgrimage months, in which all hostilities among the Arabs were suspended. At last this ban was removed in consequence of the interest which the proscribed excited even among their religious opponents. But almost at the same time Muhammad lost his wife Khadîja and his uncle Abu Talib, and his enemies, emboldened by this, compelled him to seek protection among his relatives, the people of Taif,[2] a village situated three or four days' journey southeast from Mecca. But he was driven out of the town with stones by the fanatic people, and forced to return to his native place, where he fortunately found a safe refuge with some prominent citizens who did not belong to the Quraish.

VI. *The "night journey." The "Hijra."*—Despite all the reverses which he suffered on his journey he arrived at Mecca with renewed courage, strengthened by a dream or vision in which a winged horse bore him first to Jerusalem and then up to heaven, where God himself greeted him as his most loved apostle and declared

[1] For the story of his conversion *cf.* Stobart, *Islâm*, p. 83.

[2] For a good account of his experiences at Taif *cf.* Müller, Vol. I., p. 79.

him his noblest creature.[1] By narrating this vision he brought fresh insult upon himself and even estranged some of his followers. Yet at the next pilgrimage, when he expounded his new doctrine to the pilgrims, he obtained a hearing among some inhabitants of Medina of the race of the Khazraj, who were related to him through his mother. These men, to be sure, could not improve his situation; still they worked quietly spreading Islam at their home, so that the next year (621 A. D.) the number of Muslims at Medina had doubled and already many of the believing Meccans had found a refuge among them. The inhabitants of Medina, aside from their relationship with Muhammad, were the more ready to listen to him because they had long been prepared by the Jews who lived there for the appearance of a prophet. Perchance they also hoped by means of Muhammad and the new faith to gain the supremacy over Mecca, for they were jealous of her importance as the place of the pilgrimage. At the next festival, when Muhammad had reached the age of fifty-three lunar years, seventy-three people from Medina appeared in Mecca, who not only confessed his faith, but also entered into a formal offensive and defensive alliance with him and invited him and all the Muslims to remove to their city. Muhammad still stayed some months in Mecca, but at last, in September, 622, when he learned that his enemies were making fresh plans against his life, he escaped with Abu Bakr to Medina.

VII. *Efforts to conciliate the Jews and to harass the people of Mecca.* — His first care was to establish the worship and to give a new home to the refugees. A mosque was built and an alliance established between them and the people of Medina, which even extended to a mutual inheritance to the detriment even of blood relatives. Several ordinances were proclaimed in order to win over the numerous and wealthy Jewish population. But these were soon rescinded because that people insisted on the preservation of the entire Mosaic law, and, besides, did not recognize him as a prophet because he was not of the race of David. His most important act during the first year of the exile was the permission to make war in the name of God upon the enemies of

[1] *Cf.* Palmer, Vol. I., xxxi.

Islam.[1] To be sure he could not yet think of a formal war against the Meccans, but he hoped to be able to attack their Syrian caravans and injure their foreign trade. But the Quraish were too experienced to go into the traps laid for them, and either sent a strong guard with their caravans or sent them by a circuit to the north. Then Muhammad had resource to trickery, and ordered a raid in a holy month during which it is customary in Arabia to lay aside all hostilities. Since, however, this raid was reprobated by the believers to whom ancient custom was yet sacred, he made the captain of the band answerable for it and asserted that his sealed and ambiguous commands had been overstepped, yet he excused this man afterwards and even accepted a part of the booty. Here appears already, as in the case of the recognition of mediatory gods, a sort of instability in the conduct of Muhammad and the beginning of a series of acts which he must have known to be wrong and only began or permitted for one purpose—injury to unbelievers.

VIII. *The victory of Badr.*—The first real conflict between the Muslims and the people of Mecca occurred in the month of Ramadhan of the second year of the Hijra. Also on this occasion Muhammad left Medina with his followers for the purpose of plundering a rich caravan from Syria. But its leader, Abu Sufian, learned of this plan and hastily sent for assistance to Mecca. These attacked the Muslims while the caravan went home along the seacoast in safety. At Badr (Bedr), a place some distance southwest of Medina, occurred the first battle. There were about six hundred from Mecca and three hundred and fourteen Muslims. The former were defeated and left seventy men on the field and a like number of prisoners, for whom a considerable ransom had to be paid. Among the latter was Abbas, the rich uncle of Muhammad, who indeed returned to his native city, but from that time served his nephew as a spy. Muhammad himself took no part in the battle, for he was neither brave nor skilled in arms, but remained praying in a tent. He therefore ascribed this victory not to the bravery of his troops, among whom Ali and Hamza especially distinguished them-

[1] *Cf.* Sura 22:40.

selves, but to the assistance of an invisible host of angels.[1] The booty was equally divided this time, but shortly after the return to Medina, the law was promulgated according to which a fifth was reserved for the prophet, his relatives, the poor, orphans, and travelers.[2]

IX. *Attacks upon Jews.*—The moral effect of this victory and its great booty contributed much to the growth of the power and consequence of Muhammad, and attracted so many people to his standard that, after some sentences of death against the Jews in the neighborhood of Medina, he was able formally to declare war against the Jewish family of the Beni Kainukaa, some of whom dwelt in the city, and by besieging their stronghold he was able to compel them to unconditional surrender. Abd Allah Ibn Ubajj, a chieftain of the family of Khazraj, under whose protection the Jews were, would not consent to their execution as Muhammad wished. They were allowed to go to Syria, but of course without their property.

X. *Disastrous defeat at Mount Uhud* (*Ohod*). For thirteen months Muhammad could plunder the caravans of the Quraish with impunity and take the field against their allies. At last, in order to destroy his power and avenge their loss at Badr, they collected an army of three thousand men and marched to Medina. Muhammad wished to await the enemy in the city; but was forced, either by the men of Medina or by his own eager soldiers, to give battle outside in the neighborhood of the mountain Uhud (Ohod). Here he lost seventy of his best soldiers, among them his uncle Hamza. He himself was wounded and even for a time thought to be dead. Probably for this reason the Quraish did not follow up their victory. On the way back they learned that Muhammad was still alive, but they did not dare to return to Medina, because they had received false information from one of his followers to the effect that new forces had come to his aid.

Other misfortunes followed the defeat at Uhud. Many of the learned Muslims were treacherously murdered by the heathen

[1] Sura 3:120, 121; 8:9, 10, 17.

[2] Sura 8:42.

Arabs. In order to make amends to his followers for their continued ill-luck, Muhammad attacked a Jewish tribe (the Banû'n-Naphîr) dwelling near Medina. Since he was unable to subdue them in their strongholds, he was obliged to let them go to Syria with a portion of their possessions. The rest of their property was claimed in the name of God by the prophet,[1] because it was gained without bloodshed. He then distributed it among the poorer of his fellow refugees. This and some other important operations against various Arab tribes, whom he knew how to surprise, one by one, with an overwhelming force, finally caused his enemies again to unite in order to annihilate him at one stroke.

XI. *The siege of Medina.*—In the fifth year of the Hijra (March, 627) ten thousand men, led by Abu Sufian, the commander of the Quraish, marched against Medina. Muhammad, who had barely three thousand men at his command was obliged to shut himself up in the city and to protect the exposed quarters from attack by a ditch. The Arabs, being inexperienced in sieges, were not in a condition to storm Medina. Moreover, unity and mutual confidence were lacking among the different sections of their army. When, therefore, after a siege of some weeks, an unusually cold and stormy season came on, they raised the siege and went home. This time Muhammad again took a terrible vengeance for his troubles, upon a Jewish tribe, the Banu Quraiza,[2] who had gone over to the men of Mecca. Although they surrendered unconditionally to him, he caused the men to be executed and the women and children to be sold as slaves. This little victory did not take away the disgrace which Muhammad had brought upon himself by seeking protection behind a ditch instead of relying on his sword and lance and the help of God. To be sure he continued his raids upon the caravans of his enemies and now and then sent small detachments against tribes not allied to him, yet this policy neither increased his power nor advanced his reputation.

XII. *Proposed pilgrimage to Mecca.*—In the next year (628 A.D.) he decided to make an open advance in order to regain his stand-

[1] *Cf.* Sura 59:1–17 for Muhammad's justification of this action.

[2] *Cf.* Sura 33:26, also Muir, Vol. iii., p. 276ff, or abridged edition, chapter 17.

ing. He resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca, and required not only all believers but also all heathen Arabs with whom he was on good terms to accompany him. His call did not meet with the desired response, but since he had announced the journey to Mecca in the name of God, he could not draw back but was obliged, in view of the comparatively small number[1] of his followers, to trust to the aversion of the Quraish to carrying on war during the sacred months. But he deceived himself, for although they had no wish to fight with him, they were fully determined to refuse him entrance to the holy city. He obtained, however, something far more important than permission to complete the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in the neighborhood of the temple, for he arranged a truce with his enemies which, to be sure, gave many advantages to them, but in which he was recognized as an equal power. All hostility was to be laid aside, he could henceforth without fear send his missionaries to all parts of Arabia and in addition, in the next year, could celebrate the pilgrimage festival in Mecca for three days without hindrance.

XIII. *Another Jewish campaign.*—In order to appease those who were dissatisfied with the outcome of this pilgrimage,[2] Muhammad again ordered a campaign against the Jews, notably against those of Khaibar and Fadak, who had strongholds four or five days' journey north of Medina. Some of these were stormed, whereupon the others surrendered and were condemned to pay half of their income as tribute.

XIV. *Attempt to poison Muhammad.*—During his stay in one of the conquered castles, Muhammad came near losing his life in the midst of his career; for a Jewess who had lost a near relative in the battle offered him a poisoned dish. No sooner had he tasted it than he became aware of its character and escaped the fate intended for him.

[1] Variously estimated at between 700 and 1600.

[2] Compare Sura 48.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

III. His Teaching Concerning God.

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The basis of his teaching.— God as a Spirit, involving universality of religion—as Light—as Love.—Fatherhood of God—natural and spiritual—the parables of the Good Shepherd and the prodigal son—Fatherhood taught in the person and life of Jesus.—Contrasted with the teaching of the Jews.

The teaching of Jesus concerning God rests upon an Old Testament basis. The God whom he reveals is the Jehovah whom the Jews worshiped. In his conversation with the Samaritan woman he classed himself with the Jews in respect to the knowledge of God, and said: "We (the Jews) worship that which we know; for salvation (the Messianic deliverance) is from the Jews" (John 4:22). In comparison with all other ancient peoples, the Jews possessed and preserved a deeper and truer knowledge of God. Jehovah was to them the one, only God, the Almighty Creator and Governor. He was a spiritual Being, a holy God who hated all impurity and sin, the righteous Ruler and Judge of all mankind.

Upon this idea of God our Lord based his teaching and work, as against the pantheism and polytheism which were so common in ancient oriental nations. Jesus assumed as true the spiritual monotheism of the Jewish people. It must not, however, be supposed that Jesus found no serious defects in the Jewish idea of God, and that he added no important elements of truth to the existing conception of God's nature and relations. Some such defects he clearly specified, others he assumed and supplied by the tone and spirit of his own teaching. In the conversation just referred to, for example, he admits that the Jews hold too limited and local an idea of God in supposing that he can be worshiped to any special advantage in Jerusalem, and he affirms

that the time is coming, and is already present — so far, that is, as men have accepted his deeper and truer idea — when men will not limit God's worship to any *place*, but will worship the Father in spirit and in truth.

We can best see how Jesus' doctrine of God goes beyond that of his contemporaries, and, in certain points, supplements and corrects it, by reviewing some of his most important teachings on the subject. It will be convenient to begin with the great principle which he set over against the limited idea of the Jews and Samaritans: "God is spirit" (John 4 : 24). This rendering of the statement, which is found in the margin of the Revised Version is decidedly to be preferred to the common translation: "God is a spirit." Both the emphatic position, in the original, of the word for "spirit," and the context of the passage, show that it is the *nature*, rather than the *personality*, of God which Jesus intends to define. As against the idea that God's presence is local, Jesus asserts that his nature is spiritual and that he is not, therefore, limited to any place, but may be worshiped anywhere. From God's nature as spirit the true conception of his worship is álso to be derived. He is to be worshiped "in spirit," that is, with true inward reverence and consecration, and "in truth," that is, with true and worthy conceptions of what he is and requires.

It will readily be seen that the idea of God as spirit involves important consequences for religion and theology. The appreciation of that idea in its full significance would inevitably break down the narrow particularism of the Jews. If God was a universal spirit, he could not be the God of the Jewish people alone. He must be the God and Father of all men and all must have some access to him. Thus Christ's idea of God involved as its corollary the destined universality of the true religion. It was a great thing for any Jewish mind to see this truth of God's spirituality; it involved his universal relations with men and his love and interest for all. Its effect on the mind of Peter, who had grown up in the narrower, Jewish methods of thought, is familiar. After his great vision he saw that God was "no respecter of persons; but that in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him" (Acts 10 : 35).

With the idea that God is spirit stand closely connected two expressions of the apostle John which, though not used, so far as we know, by our Lord himself, do certainly embody the spirit of his teaching concerning God: "God is light," and "God is love." The definition of God as spirit lays emphasis upon what he *is* in his innermost nature or essence. It comprehends what in theology are called his immanent attributes. The idea of God as light and as love suggests rather what God *does* in his relations. These words suggest his transitive attributes, his tendency to reveal himself, to create and to bless. No figure could express this and kindred thoughts better than that of light. It is pure, diffusive, life-giving. In nature light is the condition of all human well-being. Without it there could be no life and no beauty. All means of subsistence would fail, man would perish and the world would become a charnel-house of death. In like manner the source of all spiritual life, joy, and hope is God. Light is the symbol of his boundless beneficence and grace which make human existence a boon and fill life with meaning, purpose, and hope.

Similar thoughts are involved in the definition of God as love. Light is a figurative synonym for love. Love is a name for God's disposition to reveal himself in giving and blessing. God creates because he is love. He redeems because he is love. The word *love* comprehends his whole moral nature in its forth-putting of interest and sympathy and in its communication of good. But while the statement "God is love" is the most comprehensive summary of the moral attribute of God which the Bible contains, it is more agreeable to our present purpose to consider the more concrete representations of God's love which Jesus was accustomed to make in his teaching

One of his favorite methods of representing the divine goodness was that of dwelling upon the fatherhood of God. The sermon on the mount is full of this idea. He exhorts men to love one another, yes, even to love their enemies. Why? "That ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 5:45), and then he proceeds to say that God their Father loves all, whether his love is reciprocated or not. They, too, must love

all, if they will be his true sons, that is, will be morally akin to him in the spirit of their action. It is to the exercise of this large and generous love that he exhorts them when he says: "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5:48). This perfection of God, of which Jesus speaks, consists in his love, as the previous verses show. God's moral nature as love is the type, the ideal, of all personal perfection of life; all men approximate that ideal in proportion as they too exercise the spirit of love, charity and helpfulness toward others.

Another aspect of God's fatherhood is presented where Jesus speaks of the providential care of God for his creatures. Why be anxious, he says, about food and raiment? "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things" (Matt. 6:32). It cannot be that God, who provides in nature for the birds, and clothes the wild lily with beauty, can be forgetful of man, his highest creation, whom he has made in his own moral image. God cannot do the lesser thing and forget the greater.

Attention should here be called to the fact that God is called Father only in relation to personal beings. It is *your* Father who feeds the birds (Matt. 6:26), not *their* Father. This is but to say that the terms, fatherhood, sonship and love, denote personal relations. God is never spoken of as loving any order of creation beneath man. He is never called the Father of any beings except moral beings. Fatherhood, therefore, involves a moral kinship. God is the Father of those whom he has made capable of obedience and communion with himself.

The question is often raised, whether it is proper to speak of all men, or only of believers, as sons of God. Careful discriminations are necessary in order to answer it in accord with New Testament teaching. Unquestionably God is spoken of as the Father of all men. He is always loving and gracious, whatever men may be. He always remains, if we may so speak, what he ought to be; he always corresponds perfectly to the ideal. Are all men, then, sons of God? Ideally and in their possibility they are. But men are not actually what they ought to be; they do not correspond to their ideal. It is on man's side that the true

relations which "fatherhood" and "sonship" express, have been impaired. These two words should be perfect correlates, but, as the case really stands, they are not so. God *is* the Father of all men, since he, on his side, always remains what he ought to be, but men must *become* sons of God (in the true sense of moral kinship to God) because their side of the relation has been impaired by sin and it is by a change in *them* that this relation of fellowship and likeness must be restored. Hence the New Testament speaks only of the obedient as sons of God in the true moral sense. Others have forfeited their sonship by sin, although it is still theirs by right and possibility, but they regain it only by repentance and return to God in obedience and love. In other words, the New Testament does not speak of what I may call the natural relation in which all men stand to God as his creatures, as sonship, but reserves that term to express the closer spiritual relation which is constituted by faith and obedience. The correctness of this distinction will be clearly seen from the following passage in John (1 : 12); "As many as *received him*, to them gave he the right (or privilege) to *become* children of God, even to them that *believe* on his name."

The fatherly love of God to man is nowhere more impressively set forth than in the group of parables which constitute the fifteenth chapter of Luke. The chapter opens with a picture of two classes of persons in the presence of Jesus. On the one hand, "the publicans and sinners were drawing near unto him to hear him," and on the other "the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying: this man receives sinners and eateth with them." Here were the abandoned classes, the outcasts of society, and the orthodox and pious religionists side by side. The former classes were despised by the latter, who thought them outlawed from the mercy of God. What Jesus says of the attitude of God towards the wretched and sinful is presented in the three parables of the lost sheep, the lost piece of money and the prodigal son.

In the first parable he teaches that just as a shepherd concerns himself especially for a member of his flock which becomes lost, so God feels special solicitude for the wayward, the abandoned and the despairing. The Pharisees criticised Jesus for recog-

nizing persons of this class; he replies by saying that God thinks upon them with special anxiety and yearning. He thus shows that in concerning himself for the salvation of the most immoral, he is but doing what the Father does, and that his conduct was the warrant of the Father's own action. The second parable is of similar import. A woman who has ten pieces of money and loses one, will give more concern to the one lost piece than to all the nine which remain in safe keeping. So God in his redeeming mercy seeks the lost—those who are lost to self-respect, to hope, to their own usefulness and to their divinely appointed destiny—and the more utterly lost men are, the more does the divine compassion pity their misery and ruin.

Then comes the parable of the prodigal son, that matchless portrayal of the fatherly compassion of God. Of both the sons God is the Father; but the younger son forfeits by disobedience and ingratitude his true filial standing. As he himself expresses it, he is "no more worthy to be called" a son. In the true moral sense he is not what a son should be. The natural relation to his father, however, still remains as the possible basis for the reconstitution of the true relation of obedience and fellowship. He is a son in possibility still; nothing can ever make it untrue that he was born in his father's house and that he has a right to his father's bounty as soon as he is willing on his part to fulfill his part of the relation. If he has lost the rights and dignity of sonship, he has lost them by his own unfilial life, and they belong to him and shall be his as soon as he will "arise and go to his father," and in penitence and obedience seek his favor and blessing.

What more powerful description—sublime in its simplicity—of the fatherliness, the pity, the forgiving mercy of God, could be given than that which is presented in this parable. It is an epitome of the whole gospel. It teaches at once man's actual sinfulness and estrangement from God and the possibility of return and welcome which is always open to him. It contains the gist of all biblical teaching concerning God, that he is at once just and merciful, banishing from his favor sinful man no longer than man refuses to return to him in trust and obedience. The grace

of God! that is the germ-truth of the whole gospel; that is what Jesus came to reveal and apply to the world's sin; that is the watchword under whose inspiration the apostle to the Gentiles did his work and it is that truth which he left as his legacy to his churches and to the world; in short, the grace of God is the burden of the whole Bible and the very heart and soul of all biblical religion.

But it was not merely in Jesus' *teaching* that he emphasizes the grace and fatherhood of God; he emphasized these truths by the whole spirit and work of his life. When Philip said unto him, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," he answered: "Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, show us the Father?" (John 14:8, 9). What could Jesus mean by saying that to see him was to see the Father? Many passages show that he could not have intended to identify himself absolutely with the Father, denying all distinction between the Father and himself. He must have meant that in his own person and work the fatherliness of God was so revealed that one need not look elsewhere to obtain a knowledge of what God is. His life is the adequate revelation of God. He and the Father are one in nature, in spirit and in working (John 10: 30). "My Father worketh hitherto," says Jesus, the Father has always been active in blessing and saving men, "and I work" (John 5: 17). The life of Jesus is all in the line of the Father's unceasing beneficence and in the historical interpretation and realization of it.

Jesus' doctrine of God is to be derived, therefore, not merely from what he said about God, but from what he did and was. He is himself the revelation of God, the interpretation of God to man. His life is the self-utterance of God in history. He is the true living *Word* of God, the image, the expression of deity whereby we learn most of the nature and feelings towards us of the infinite and invisible God. He reveals God's fatherly qualities by exhibiting towards men a more than human compassion and tenderness, and by himself living, in his relation to God, a perfectly filial life, thus showing man how to be certain of God's fatherhood by himself living the filial, obedient life.

It should be apparent even from this brief review of the salient features of the teaching of Jesus concerning God that it stands in sharpest contrast, at important points, with the common Jewish notion of the time which narrowed the idea of God to that of a patron of their own nation, and then removed him far away from all living contact with human life. It was the effort of Jesus to expand and elevate the current idea of God by magnifying his love and compassion for all men, and to replace the cold, absentee deity of Judaism with the living, present Father who draws near to men in mercy and blessing.

MODERN THEOSOPHY IN ITS RELATION TO HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM.

By Merwin-Marie Snell.

I.

Meaning of "Theosophy."—The theosophical sect.—Mahâtmas.—Tradition.—Blind faith.—Mission of Buddha.—The all.—Theogony.—Spirit and matter.—Septenary hierarchies.—Evolution.—Karma.—The soul.—Heavens and hells.—Magic.—Theosophy's claims.

The word *theosophy* properly means the theory or practice of the acquisition of knowledge or wisdom from a divine as opposed to a human source; it is thus the correlative of *theopathy*, the perception of the divine by feeling, and of *theurgy*, action through divine power.

It may also be properly applied to any system which makes a directly infused divine knowledge its basis. In this sense the word has long been in use to designate Neo-Platonism and the philosophies of Paracelsus and Jacob Boehme.

But at the present time the term is popularly known only as the name of a system taught by Madame H. P. Blavatsky and a society founded by her in New York in 1875 and now widely diffused in Europe, America and southern Asia, having over a hundred branches in India alone. Its chief text-books are Madame Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, and it has various periodical organs in different countries and languages, foremost among which is the monthly magazine *Lucifer* published at the society's headquarters in London.

The Theosophical Society professes to have as its object, not the propagation of a special creed, but the promotion of human brotherhood, the investigation of the occult powers and forces of nature, and the study of Oriential literatures. Nevertheless, it has taught from the beginning a distinct system which has crystallized more and more into an accepted orthodoxy.

This system is in theory a true theosophy, as it holds that the fundamental source of religious knowledge is not reason, objective revelation, or historic tradition, but an interior illumination, or rather direct spiritual vision, resulting from oneness with the divine universal Spirit.

Practically, however, it surrenders this principle by its implicit acceptance of the authority of an alleged society of "Mahâtmas," supposed to be men of an extraordinary degree of interior development, "the highest spiritual adepts" as the phrase goes, who have their corporate headquarters in the highlands of Tibet. It is claimed that while they have in the past exerted a constant influence on the development of the race, especially at certain opportune periods, the time has now come when they have seen fit, through the chief instrumentality of the vigorous western races, to make public at least a portion of their secret lore, in preparation for a coming era of vastly increased spiritual activity and power when the higher knowledge will be accessible to all. The disciples of the new theosophy, therefore, are not left to construct a world-system for themselves as best they may by their own study and intuition, but are expected to accept implicitly the body of teaching which they believe to be a portion of a secret tradition of absolute religious, philosophical, historical and scientific truth handed down from the earliest progenitors of the race and their predecessors of other races and worlds, constantly confirmed and corrected by the developed insight of initiated sages and seers, and finally communicated in part to Madame Blavatsky and her inner circle of co-laborers. The net result is a blind faith in Madame Blavatsky which uses the theory of independent interior illumination only to entrench itself against all rational criticism by the conviction and claim that her authority is confirmed by the divine voice within.

To the student of religions this peculiar sect is one of special interest, not so much on account of its own peculiar character and history, which are by no means without parallel, but rather on account of the relation which its tenets have to those of the great Oriental religions.

Although it claims to be the secret basis and explanation of

all religions," it first became known to the general public as "Esoteric Buddhism," in a book bearing that title written by one of Madame Blavatsky's earliest converts and lieutenants, A. P. Sinnett. She herself explains that it is very different from "orthodox Buddhism, *i. e.*, the public teachings of Gautama, the Buddha," and that it is, on the contrary, the esoteric Buddhism, or wisdom-religion, possessed by the historic Buddha in common with the initiated Brâhmans of his day. "The whole Buddhist reform," I quote from *The Secret Doctrine*, "merely consisted in giving out a portion of that which had been kept secret from every man outside of the enchanted circle of temple-initiates and ascetics. Unable to teach all that had been imparted to him, owing to his pledges—though he taught a philosophy built upon the groundwork of the true esoteric knowledge—the Buddha gave to the world only its outward material form and kept its soul for his elect."

One of the most common appellations of the theosophical doctrine among its teachers and followers is "The Ancient Wisdom-Religion of the Âryans," and it is believed to be identical with what Blavatsky calls "The Pre-Vedic Brâhmanism."

Let us see what the system is for which such remarkable claims are advanced. Like most of the great Oriental systems it recognizes the universality of law. It denies the objective existence of the universe, considering it to be an illusory manifestation of the attributeless, unconscious, impersonal All, Parabrahm, who is described indifferently as "Abstract Being," "the Absolute Consciousness," "the Absolute Negation," "the Supreme Existence," or "the Non-existent." Immense periods of manifestation and non-manifestation—manvantara and pralaya—succeed each other to all eternity. The first step towards the manifestation or emanation of the universe from Parabrahm is the appearance within it of the impersonal Logos—Brâhma, which then divides itself into the male I'svara, Virâj or Prajâpati, and the female Vâch, Aditi or Sarasvatî; thence respectively arise Mahat or Mahâbuddhi, "pre-cosmic Ideation," and Mûlaprakṛiti, "pre-cosmic root substance." Thus far this theogony describes the movements of Parabrahm within itself. Mahat and

Mûlaprakṛiti manifest themselves as Purusha and Prakṛiti, spirit and matter, or Cosmic Ideation and Cosmic Substance. The former is transcendental space, the Æther of the ancients and the Akâsa of India. The latter is the primeval Chaos, and the ether of modern physical science. These are not distinct entities but are opposite poles of the one entity. Blavatsky says: "Spirit is matter on the seventh plane; matter is spirit—on the lowest plane of its psychic activity; and both are mâya" (vol. i., p. 633). The two are united by Fohat, "the dynamic energy of cosmic ideation," "the mysterious link between mind and matter, the animating principle electrifying every atom into life" (i., 16). The further unfolding of the manifested universe is directed by the Dhyan Chohans, Dhyâni Buddhas, Devas, Manus, solar and lunar Pitṛis, or Prajâpatis, corresponding to the Elohim of the Jews and the angels and gods of other religions. These are divided into seven great hierarchies which are subdivided again and again into septenary classes and groups, higher and lower. Although consisting of vast hosts of individual beings, their consciousness is to such a degree fused that they as a whole or in any of their subdivisions may be spoken of either as one or as many.

These divine powers, usually called Dhyan Chohans, spring from Fohat and are the vehicles of the Cosmic Ideation. They represent the exalted souls who had been reabsorbed into Parabrahm at the close of the preceding manvantara, and who are now projected anew with enhanced dignity and power.

The Dhyan Chohans send forth successive emanations of themselves which constitute the forces of nature, and a portion of their incarnate essence becomes, through a long series of secular evolutions, the man as we know him and as he is yet to be.

Thus all those things which we consider lifeless, soulless and mindless are the manifestations of life and soul and mind. Through vast septenary cycles the universe, the solar system, the planetary system, the earth itself, the various orders of existence upon it, and the successive races and populations of men, are developed into the highest degree of complexity and materiality, out of which they gradually return again, in a process of

involution by which evolution is succeeded, into the undifferentiated unity of Parabrahm. All takes place according to inflexible laws, chief among which is the law of *karma*, or moral causality, according to which every action entails inevitably its appropriate consequences, good or evil. The spiritual monad climbs up through the mineral, vegetable and animal planes into the human; and its duty and privilege is to become a god, and to finally merge itself again into the divine, universal Being from which it came. This theory of reincarnation in subjection to the law of karma is the central feature of popular theosophical teaching.

The sevenfold constitution of the universe is illustrated in man himself, who is composed of a gross body (*sthuls 'sarîra*), vitality (*jiva*), subtle body (*linga 'sarîra*), animal body (*kâma rupa*), human soul, spiritual soul and spirit. The spirit (*âtma*) is the spark of Absolute Being within us and is identical with Parabrahm. *Buddhi*, the spiritual soul united with âtma, constitutes the Dhyan Chohan, the god within us. *Manas*, the human soul, is divisible, and at death is often torn asunder in the conflict which ensues between our higher and lower principles. The animal soul, or body of desire, is cast off, like the body with its vitality, at or soon after death.

In the intervals between its incarnations the soul—that is, in this case, âtma, buddhi, and the superior part of manas—passes to other worlds corresponding to the heavens and hells of the exoteric religions. All, however, except the exceptionally evil, enter the heavenly state, called Devachan [*N. B.*—This is the Tibetan form of Sukhavatî, the heaven of Amitâbha Buddha], where all the desires cherished during the preceding life are gratified by joys which, though illusory, seem most real to their possessors.

After a period sometimes of vast extent the force of karma draws back the individual to earth and to such a body and such an environment as its past actions and affinities make most appropriate to it. By extinguishing desire and developing our higher principles, or rather rising up into them, we may obtain Nirvâna, which in its lower sense is the annihilation of evil and of earth-

attachment and consequently a cessation of re-birth and return to Dhyan Chohanship, but in its highest or ultimate sense is reabsorption into Parabrahm. Incidentally extraordinary powers are obtained on the way through a growing knowledge of and power over the forces and principles of nature.

The foregoing is the merest outline of the system in perhaps its most essential aspect. To give a clear idea of either its cosmogony, its psychology, its theology or any other one of the numerous branches of the subject would take many volumes. It professes to explain the doctrines and myths of all religions, and is in fact the boldest attempt ever made to achieve the colossal task of reconciling all the religions and philosophies of the world. It claims, too, to possess the key to the weightiest problems of all the sciences, and its doctrines come in contact with nearly every feature of every one of them. It accepts also all the so-called "occult sciences," and it considers itself able to demonstrate and rationally explain and elucidate them.

We are now prepared to go on to a comparison of these tenets with those of the venerable Oriental faiths, and to endeavor, so far as possible, to ascertain their source and thus assign to this peculiar form of Neo-Paganism its proper genetic place in the family of religions.

Bible Study in College.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

By Professor F. K. Sanders, Ph.D.

Yale University without question is a center of much Bible study. This is done under three general lines of organization: the undergraduate work; the work in the graduate department for those who are planning to become teachers themselves; and the work which is carried on through the Young Men's Christian Association.

The object of the undergraduate courses is practical. The main course is one on Biblical History and Literature. It aims to cover the whole Bible — Old and New Testament — in two years, treating the biblical material in the light of contemporary history and customs and ideas. This course is rather an historical course than one devoted to literary distinctions, but the latter element is made much of. The work is guided by the controlling purpose of bringing out the gradual upbuilding of Hebrew civilization, the gradual development of its religious character, and the connections between the world which is then described and the present.

At Yale it is also intended that there shall each year be offered several subsidiary courses which lay emphasis on certain biblical details. Next year, for instance, along with the first half of the main course there will be offered a course for one hour a week through the year on the Minor Prophets, — a course inviting close literary study. At the same time will be offered a course which bears on Introduction. It is entitled the History of the English Bible, and treats of the gradual growth of the Bible from its earliest Hebrew forms to its embodiment in the Revised Version. This course involves a discussion of the versions of the Bible, the canon, the work of the Massoretes, the differences between the form of the earliest Hebrew writings and the present, and so on. These two subsidiary courses make fewer demands on the student than the main course. They attract the attention of a fair number of students. The New Testament has also subsidiary courses, — one each year on the teachings of Christ and of Paul alternately, besides the close study of some book of the New Testament from the original. Corresponding courses to the above are given every alternate year, thus enabling a man to have a wide choice of helpful electives during his junior and senior years. At Yale the lower classmen cannot choose Biblical Literature.

In the graduate department a seminar is maintained which devotes regular attention to various biblical problems. The students go to the Bible and

do thoroughly original work, which is given as much variety as time permits. For graduate men many courses are offered of the department of Semitic languages, which are of greater or less interest to those who are preparing themselves to teach biblical literature.

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association at Yale is very remarkable. It does not in any respect run parallel to the work of the biblical department; for the association work has as its sole object the development of spiritual grasp of the biblical material itself, an incidental purpose in the work of the biblical department. It is believed that a fair and square study of the biblical material cannot help promoting that effect, but the class-room is not the place for emphasizing it. Each college class has a specific course to which its members are urged to give attention in each one of their college years: the freshmen take up the Life of Christ: the second year, the Parables of Christ are studied; the third year, the Miracles; the fourth year the Life of Paul. In these Bible classes some 150–200 men enroll themselves. There are also training classes maintained, the statistics of which cannot for obvious reasons be given.

Yale has at present three instructors giving more or less of their time to the work of biblical literature, President Dwight, Professor Sanders, and Dr. Creelman. They offer sixteen courses, aggregating twenty-eight hours per week. The aggregate number who are enrolled in these classes for the current year amounts to about 300, being taken exclusively from the junior and senior classes. There is no question but that the work at Yale is an entire success. The department largely increases its hold upon the students each year and has already taken a fairly prominent position. It draws to a fair degree upon the students who attend the divinity school of the University, but inasmuch as this work under the present organization must be entirely extra, I do not make much of it in this report. Despite the efficient services cordially rendered by Professors Curtis and Porter and others of the divinity school, whose work is considerably parallel to that of the biblical department, we need a full Semitic professor. It would then be possible to make the opportunities offered to graduate men far greater than at present.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON. By KARL BUDDE, in the *New World* for March, 1894. Pages 56–78.

No one in these days accepts the allegorical explanation of the Song of Solomon. The latest interpreters, Oettli, Driver, and Rothstein, understand that instead of Jehovah and his people, or Christ and the Soul, the principal characters are Solomon and the Shulamite. The purpose is to show the victory of pure and genuine love over sensual passion. While all agree that the devoted lover is Solomon, opinions differ on the question whether he turns from his passion to genuine love and is rewarded by gaining possession of the Shulamite, or whether he is obliged to surrender her to a rival. For the dramatic construction which is demanded by this theory, the book itself makes no arrangement. It is true, still farther, that the entire Semitic literature does not know the drama. The Book of Job cannot be cited, although it would have much more claim than the Song of Songs. The advocates of the "shepherd hypothesis" should remember "that utterances of the highest sensuality do not become more moral from the fact that they are put into the mouths of unmarried persons, the bride and the bridegroom." They should remember that according to this theory the Shulamite is a most heartless and thorough-going coquette. "A fine drama, this, in which every one talks out of the window, and no one understands another." "A fine king, too — above all, an oriental king — with whom one can sport in this manner without punishment." Still farther, the picture of bridal love is one unknown to the Orient. Close intercourse has never been permitted between the young man and young woman destined for each other in marriage. The explanation which understands the book to treat of bridal love is altogether wrong. The subject of the book is wedded love. A close inspection shows that neither Solomon nor the Shulamite plays a part in the Song of Solomon, and so the whole question of a drama disappears. The fact that Solomon is named proves nothing, for he is also named in Matthew 6:29; 12:42. There is no allusion to Solomon in the Song of Songs which requires him to be still alive. Solomon is only "the typical representation of the highest wealth, splendor and voluptuousness." Something more, however, is demanded in 3:6–11. Here, as in 1:4; 1:12; 5:1; 8:12, application is made to the proverbial person Solomon. The word "Shulamite" occurs only in 7:1. No reference is made in the drama to her home. An explanation of the Shulamite is to be found in the story of Abishag, 1 Kings 1:3 f. But the Shulamite of this book is only the representative of the qualities of Abishag

the Shulamite, declared to be the fairest woman in all Israel. She became the type for women, which Solomon was for men. "As the bridegroom is compared with King Solomon in all his glory, and would not exchange his fortune with Solomon, so for the beauty of the bride no less a woman could be named than the fairest of whom the ancients spoke, and one who was also a queen." It was Wetzstein who published in 1873 the basis for the correct understanding of the book. In his essay, "The Syrian Threshing-board,"[1] he describes the king's week. This is the name given to the first seven days after a marriage, during which time the young husband and wife play king and queen, and are treated as such by their friends. At the end of this week they resume their former position. The young husband in the Song of Solomon is called king, "because the book contains songs for the marriage festival, and the young husband during this time is king." This week is passed in song, sport and dance before a throne which has been set up for the royal pair. Many songs are sung, all of which treat of love. Among others is the so-called *Wasf*, which is sung in praise of the physical beauty of the young couple. The sword dance is sung on the evening of the wedding day. With sword in hand the bride dances before the guests. This is found in 7 : 1 ff., especially verse 7. The book, when analyzed, furnishes a collection of songs or eulogies. A close application of this theory to the book satisfies many difficulties which otherwise are overwhelming. The songs have been brought together irregularly, and there is no orderly arrangement. Originally the songs were thrown together as a collection without editing. Additions, perhaps, have been made, in order to connect them. It is probable that the reviser, by his insertions, has assisted in the later misunderstanding. The age of the book is probably about 300 B. C. It has no place in a collection of sacred writings. Even the climax of the book, 8 : 6, 7, does not furnish a basis. Its place among the Holy Scriptures has led to its misunderstanding, and has done great injury. The sensual effect of its words has been great upon many readers. The Jews prohibited its reading before the thirtieth year. The book is not to be despised, for as a memorial of poetry it is most valuable. Its coloring causes a moral recoil, but we must remember that there has come to be a difference of civilization.

A more able or ingenious defense of a theory can hardly be imagined. The writer seems to have taken away every prop of the dramatic theory, and to have presented an explanation of the book to which critical objection can hardly be made. But after repeated perusal of the article, one cannot fail to ask himself how it is possible that so great a mistake should have been made about the character and purpose of the collection. And that, too, in the very country in which these same songs are, under the new theory, said to be sung? The audacity of the theory is as great as its plausibility. It goes too far and proves too much. This presentation will doubtless modify our former views, but will not overthrow them. W. R. H.

[1] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 22, pages 287–294.

PROFESSOR W. ROBERTSON SMITH'S DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Glasgow, in the *Expositor* for November, 1894, pages 241–264.

Professor Robertson Smith accepted the reformation idea of the Scriptures rather than that of the mediæval church. The mediæval church accepted the Bible, translated it for the common people, based its theology upon the Scripture, and was ready to accept the Scripture as the judge in any religious controversy. The supreme authority of Scripture was not a distinctive article of the protestant creed in the early centuries. Luther's opponents believed that they would be able to meet his challenge and that the Scripture would decide against him. The controversy showed, however, that Luther had an idea of Scripture which they had not. Their appeal to Scripture was "a balancing of texts, or interpretation of texts, in which everything seemed in an uncertain flux unless backed by the authority of the fathers of the church." But Luther's advantage lay in the fact of his idea of the unity of Scripture, which was unknown in the mediæval church. "Hence the famous decree of Trent, which gave an artificial unity to Scripture by means of a uniform ecclesiastical tradition." The mediæval idea of the Bible as a book full of divine information, or infallible truth about doctrines and morals—an idea which is not uncommon in modern times—cannot cover the long list of genealogies, the descriptions of temple furniture, the details of family life and national history which occupy so large a portion of the Bible. In order to overcome this difficulty the mediæval theologian gave to all these inventories and histories a fourfold meaning. Having thus thrust upon the Scripture indefinite meaning, it was necessary to find outside the Scripture the definite rule of faith. Mediæval theology, "having destroyed the inherent and historical unity of the Bible in favor of a vicious individualism, was compelled to manufacture a fictitious and external unity of Scripture by means of a theory of ecclesiastical tradition, or uniform traditional method of interpreting the meaning of texts."

The beginnings of the reformation doctrine of Scripture spring from religious experience. The reformers found that in the Scripture they had fellowship and communion with God; they found, of course, rules to guide them in all holy living; but what was of more value, this personal fellowship. From every point of view no detail of individual or national life was useless; everything helped to fill in the doctrine of fellowship between God and his people which each one could experience if he had the same faith which the holy men of old had. The biblical records have two sides: they are historical documents, subject to the ordinary career of historical research; they are also the medium whereby the personal God reveals himself to his people. The reformers, holding firmly by the doctrine of the witness of the spirit, could, and did treat the record of the Scripture with great boldness. Calvin confessed, without thinking it necessary to explain, the presence of discrepancies, or even errors—in a guarded sense of the word—in the Sacred Scriptures.

Robertson Smith said, "If I am asked why I receive the Scriptures as the word of God, and the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the protestant church, 'because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to man in Jesus Christ, and declaring to us in him his will for our salvation.' And this record I know to be true by the witness of his Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God himself is able to speak such words to my soul." This implies four things: (1) A distinction between the record and the divine communication of God's heart which the record conveys. (2) This distinction is not explained by the illustration of the husk (the record), which can be thrown away, and the kernel (the word), which may be laid hold of. There is no distinction between the Word of God and its record in Scripture which can prevent our saying that *Scripture is the Word of God.* In this phrase everything depends upon the meaning of the word "is." Does it mean logical identity, or may it be interpreted by the word "contained?" Professor Robertson Smith's phrase was "The Scripture records, or conveys, the Word of God." (3) The infallibility and authoritativeness of Scripture belong primarily to the Word of God, and only secondarily to Scripture. This Word of God is the personal manifestation to us of God and his will. This manifestation is given in the course of human events which are a part of human history, in a record which is in outward form like other human writings. It is not a matter of faith in what style a book is written, it is not a matter of faith whether Job is literal history or a poem. These are questions which belong to the human side. The Bible is a part of human literature as well as the record of divine revelation. (4) God has taken special care that the literature should be preserved in order to be a suitable record. The record includes everything necessary to enable us to understand the declaration of God's will. Its adaptation is entirely unaffected by the fact that the text contains marks of human impress. The difference between Professor Smith's views and those of the Princeton school lies in the meaning given the copula "is" in the sentence "The Scripture is the Word of God." The doctrine of the witness of the Spirit which occupied the fore-place in Calvin's doctrine has been left out entirely, or given a subordinate place. In place of the doctrine of Scripture we now have a doctrine of inspiration. This attempts to explain how a literal record may become perfect, infallible, and traditional.

Those who desire to know the real position of Professor Robertson Smith, whose influence during the past decade has been so great, should read this article. It is written in a sympathetic spirit, and certainly does justice to Professor Smith's views so far as justice can be done in so short a statement. The distinction between mediæval theology and the reformation theology is worthy of careful study; and the writer's statement, that in these later days the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit has been lost sight of, is true. The discussion of the meaning of the word "is" in the oft-repeated formula is particularly good. No single discussion in the periodical literature of the past year is of greater importance. W. R. H.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF PAUL. By CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for April, 1894, pp. 428–474.

The article is based upon a study of 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans and Philippians which are assumed as genuine with Pfleiderer and Weizsäcker. These epistles fill every newcomer with immense astonishment; they are so unique, so wholly unlike anything else he has ever read. Every Jew can understand the synoptics and even the fourth Gospel. But Paul's conception of the law, his theory of Christ, his views about Israel, his doctrine of justification seem all not only original, but utterly strange and unexpected. His break with the past is violent. Jesus seems to expand and spiritualize Judaism, Paul in some sense turns it upside down. His conception of the world, as of his whole philosophy of religion, starts from and ends with God. In this he resembles every other Jew. In his Christology he was essentially a forerunner of Arius.

As regards man, he retains the same two great divisions which were familiar to him before his conversion. Humanity is composed of Jews and gentiles. But with him the prerogatives of the Jews are broken down. The prophetic universalism begun in the first chapters of Genesis has reached its goal. Nevertheless in the eyes of Paul up to his own time nobody has ever known or worshiped the true God except the Jews. What has happened to the gentiles that they were ignorant of God? Here is an inconsistency in Paul's theology which he drew partly from Rabbinic Judaism and partly from Hellenism, such as we find it in the wisdom of Solomon. The Gentile world does not know God, and is not known of him. In Galatians this would seem to be less their fault than their misfortune; in Romans less their misfortune than their fault. Both are equally predetermined by God for his own good purposes. For the gentile idolatry and sin are closely allied.

But also the law is the cause of sin to the Jew, as it came in to magnify, first, the desire to sin, and secondly, increased, by its sheer mass of commandments, the opportunity of sin. The law begets the knowledge of sin. Thus both gentile and Jew are in equal urgent need of redemption by the work of Christ and by the gift of the Spirit.

The main points of Paul's attack upon the law are these: While given apparently for eternity, its real purpose was only temporary. Its seeming object was to make men better, and to qualify them for the kingdom of God; its true object was to create the knowledge and the lust of sin. At its best its intended result was to stimulate a desire for redemption through the medium of a spiritual despair. At its worst it led almost inevitably to self-delusion, hypocrisy and pride. It claims fulfillment, but no man can fulfill it; it demands obedience, but none can obey; it threatens the transgressor with a curse, but it was only given that trangression might abound; it promises the doer of it reward, but the reward is beyond man's power to attain. It assumes that its commands may be obeyed, but the assumption of obedience is more fatal than the consciousness of transgression. Its only end is

death; death for him who tries and knows that he has failed; death to him who tries and thinks that he has accomplished. Truly an awful gift from God. Such is the law, and in this servitude were men held captive from the age of Moses to the age of Christ. Then at the appointed time God redeems man from his bondage to the law and to sin, and gives him righteousness and salvation through Christ's work for man and through man's faith in Christ.

Christ occupied a place midway between man and God, he is more than man, less than God; he is the link between the two; as the head of every man is Christ, so the head of Christ is God. Paul certainly believed in the preëxistence of Christ before his incarnation, but he was nevertheless created by God. The full acknowledgment of Christ's place or office as Son of God seems to date from the resurrection (Rom. 1 : 4). What his place and office after the grand consummation will be, Paul leaves undetermined. Nor is this reticence unnatural, because Christ's main business concerned man.

For Paul the significance of Christ's work is not that of a great teacher, but it lies almost exclusively in his crucifixion and resurrection; it is essentially miraculous and supernatural, conditioned by his nature; and leads to miraculous and yet ethical transformation in the nature and in the life of man.

What then did Christ do? He freed men from the curse of the law, and abolished it; raised both, gentile and Jew, the one from a state of lawless license, the other from a state of legal sinfulness, into a common higher plane of being from which the ethical portion of the law could be fulfilled. He destroyed sin and won for man eternal life. Man was granted a means which, if he will but use it, enables him, whether Jew or gentile, to be good and to acquire righteousness. This righteousness is given of God, but is also possessed by man; through it salvation and eternal life are within his reach. These results were effected by the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. God could not pardon man without the redeeming death of Christ. The law is satisfied and is also abolished; its object was to create trespass; these trespasses Christ has now atoned for; the business of the law is over.

Faith begins with intellectual acceptance, or rather, perhaps, it begins with unfailing confidence in God and in the Son of God, but it passes over into a kind of ethical devotion. It produces a constancy in sorrow; it implies a constant and watchful zealousness to walk by that Spirit of Christ and God through whose agency faith and goodness were alike possible; it implies not merely a sacrifice of flesh to spirit, but also the abnegation of all selfishness, egoism and pride.

The love of Christ to man rests solely in its proof upon his incarnation and his death; it is closely identified with the love of God. Christ's love is the proof of God's love; his love is revealed in the mission and office of Christ.

In his eschatology Paul is not always consistent; he wrote about these

things as occasion arose; did not deliberately sit down to compose a consistent and connected treatise on eschatology.[1]

Paul's ethics are mainly incidental, but even so they are fairly comprehensive; a firm grasp of the essentials of duty. The believer is a changed creature, glorying only in the cross of Christ; his primal virtue is unselfishness, the source of all his virtues. Devotion to Christ, the consciousness of their high calling and of the possession of the Holy Spirit should exercise a definite ethical effect upon the mind of true believers. The body being the dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit, each believer is himself a visible sanctuary of God, and purity in body and mind are the virtues which befit so high a privilege and responsibility. As far as can be gathered from the six epistles Paul's life and character corresponded in fair human measure to the ethical and religious ideal which he enjoins; to him the new faith seemed to involve all virtue. Within the Christian limits there was light; without was darkness —the darkness of idolatry, of unbelief, of sin. Paul's zeal for righteousness and holy living is essentially Jewish. His tremendous enthusiasm for his cause which is at once religious and ethical gives his zeal a glow and fervency peculiarly his own. His hatred of sin is very inspiring; equally striking his grasp upon the essentials of morality. There is unity in his ethics; the virtues hang together. On one or two principles, whether religious or ethical, all seemed to depend. Nor can we forget that the great apostle of faith has yet placed faith below love; a culminating proof that no trace of ethical antinomianism can be elicited from the epistles of Paul.

The writer of this article is singularly sympathetic in his discussion of the Pauline teachings free from any animus and displaying a minute acquaintance both with his writings and with the literature to which they have given rise.

W. M.-A.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, in *The New World* for December, 1894. Pp. 690–704.

Controversy about the recently discovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter has dealt chiefly with two points: (1) the sources employed in its creation, and (2) the date of its composition. As to the first of these questions a study of the resemblances of the Gospel of Peter to our canonical gospels clearly points to the use of these gospels by the pseudo-Peter. Thus, in the case of the Fourth Gospel even, we find many striking resemblances in both subject-matter and expression. In dealing with the second question, the relation existing between the works of Justin Martyr and the Gospel of Peter has been appealed to by those who claim an early date for the latter. In *Trypho* 107 Justin says: "And it is said that he changed the name of one

[1] The reading of Kabisch's book, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*, convinced Montefiore that Paul's eschatology was a more fundamental, far-reaching and pervasive element in his teaching than he had imagined.

of the apostles to Peter, and that this also is written as having taken place *in his memoirs*," etc. On the basis of these words Justin has been said to refer distinctly to the Gospel of Peter. The reference is by no means distinct, however; Justin's other references to the apostolic memoirs are thoroughly satisfied by our canonical gospels; and nothing has been found in the fragment of the Gospel of Peter which we have, to justify this supposed reference to it. At present, then, it is not safe to base anything upon this difficult passage in Justin. The alleged reminiscences of the Gospel of Peter which some have found in Justin are to be explained upon the basis of a common source from which both drew, rather than upon the theory that Justin was pseudo-Peter's debtor.

The conclusions are (1) that pseudo-Peter had and used all four of our canonical gospels, and (2) that there is no evidence to prove that Justin Martyr had the Gospel of Peter to draw from. There remains, then, no valid objection to placing the composition of that gospel about the year 165 A.D.

The principal purpose of the article seems to be to meet Dr. Harnack's view that Justin Martyr had and used the Gospel of Peter; a view for which the author finds no substantial evidence. Some, doubtless, will not follow him in his rejection of what seems in Justin a plain allusion to a Petrine Gospel. The article is full of interest, however; the author is quite alive to the important bearing the study of the Akhmîm Fragment has upon certain vexed New Testament questions, and does not lose sight of them; yet he pursues his investigation in a thoroughly dispassionate spirit.

E. J. G.

Notes and Opinions.

Genesis and Evolution.—In a recent address discussing the idea of man's origin and Adam's fall, Dr. Lyman Abbott is reported as saying: "I am an evolutionist. Frankly, I believe Genesis on the fall of man to be an ancient legend which a great writer took, as Tennyson took the Arthurian legend, and rewrote it, in order that he might write into it a moral and spiritual lesson. I think the Hebrew people believed the fall of man affected the whole human race. I think Paul believed so; at all events, Paul used that belief in his arguments and teachings with the Hebrew people in his writing, but when he came to speak of sin, as he does in the seventh chapter of Romans, he has nothing to say about the fall, nothing to say about Adam, nothing to say about original sin. His prophecy is on an entirely different level; it is in every respect consistent with the notion that man started out of the germ and has grown through animal conditions to his present status."

The Glory of the Old Testament.—In a recent address whose aim was the encouragement of Old Testament study, Professor Öttli, of Bern, pointed out the practical value of the Jewish Scriptures. The *Thinker* summarizes his five reasons for studying the Old Testament as follows: (1) Our Lord's indebtedness to it. Both he and his disciples lived and moved in it. All his thoughts were saturated with its thoughts. We cannot understand Christ if we do not understand the Word out of which his Word has grown as the blossom out of the bud. More than that, Jesus nourished his own inner life on the Scriptures, and learned from them his work as a saviour. He found there, too, his father's house, where he must ever be. The Old Testament ought, consequently, to be a Holy Land to Christians. (2) It sketches, as with the point of a diamond, the outlines of the true relation between God and the world, thus supplying a strong weapon against dreamy pantheism and godless materialism. (3) The Old Testament points out not less clearly the relation between God and man. Man's original dignity, his fall, God's forgiving, healing grace, and wise patient training, are pictured with wonderful distinctness and beauty. "Gaze steadily in this looking-glass, and you see your image; and, better still, the face, yea the heart, of a God in whom our hearts can trust because he is holy love." (4) The Old Testament traces also, with the same divine precision, the true relation between man and man. "What touching thought for the poor, the lowly and the downtrodden, and what flaming indignation against oppression and extortion! The hungry poor in a neighbor's cornfield or vineyard, and the female captive, are provided for with equal benevolence; nay, even the ox at the threshing-floor,

and the frightened mother-bird, come within the sweep of the same loving care. Husbands and wives, parents and children and domestics, have principles set before them which are at the same time wise, serious and kindly; and a perfectly just balance is applied in social life without respect of persons. Assuredly, those people who speak evil of the Old Testament when they are contending with the social ills of the present day know not what they are doing." (5) The grandest and most glorious feature of the Old Testament is its foreshadowing of Christ. All through its pages moves a veiled figure, the outlines of which become more and more distinct as we approach the end. At one time we catch a glimpse of a majestic, kingly countenance, at another of the pale and bleeding face of a man of sorrows.

Three Divergent Views of the Kingdom of God.—What Jesus' precise idea of the kingdom of God was, has been and is still a much discussed topic; the several interpretations put upon the phrase differ greatly from each other, and scholars choose some one view and some another, with little prospect of agreement. On one extreme is the purely ethical interpretation, represented by Kant, Ritschl, Kaftan, F. A. B. Nitzsch and others. On the other extreme is the purely eschatological interpretation, which is advocated by Bengel, Beck, Schmoller, J. Weiss, and others. Then there is the mediating view, which endeavors to combine all that is true in both views, represented by Baldensperger, Weiss, Bousset, Wendt, Bruce, and others. This is the interpretation which is most commonly accepted and taught, yet there may be, indeed is, great variation in the presentation of it, since the adjustment of the two elements may be made in various ways and with divergent results. Professor G. Schnedermann, of Leipzig, canvasses the problem anew in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1894, No. 7, an excellent abstract of which appears in the January *Thinker*. He states and considers well the two extreme views, and then formulates a mediating view of his own. The three interpretations may be briefly indicated:

(1) The purely ethical view of Ritschl is that the kingdom is present and earthly, a community of moral agents. His own words are: "The kingdom of God is the highest *good* given by God to the church founded by his revelation in Christ; but it is only the highest good as it is also the moral *ideal*, for whose realization the members of the church bind themselves together by a definite mode of mutual action." "In carrying out his work of revelation, Christ realizes the kingdom of God, in order to secure its aim for men." "In the exercise of righteousness, in the peace produced thereby among all its members, and the joy or happiness springing from the Holy Ghost, *consists* the kingdom of God."

(2) The purely eschatological view, represented, for instance, by Schmoller, is that "the kingdom of God with Jesus is but one thing, and denotes a conclusion. It is not a relation or an aim, but a gift of God, a good, the highest good. With Jesus it is something individual, no longer national. We cannot, according to the teaching of Jesus, have part in it unless it *comes;* and it

comes only through *God's*, not man's, action, and that at the end of time. That this proclamation of the approach of God's kingdom is to be understood of the end of the world, is not doubtful; no single passage, rightly interpreted, proves the opposite. Jesus merely reckoned his own days as belonging, in a certain sense, to the last days. We must distinguish the kingdom of Christ from the kingdom of God as the higher conception, and in any case not think that Jesus, in his prophetic work, saw the founding of God's kingdom; since, on the contrary, he merely intended, by forming a Church of aspirants, to prepare for it; and he himself, during his lifetime, was Messiah only in hope. The current phrase that God's kingdom develops, or must grow, is in Jesus' sense simply absurd; the kingdom either is or is not."

(3) The mediating view proposed by Professor Schnedermann takes up a portion of each preceding view and endeavors to find a higher unity of them, thus: The idea of the kingdom of God on Christ's lips was not new, it was part of the Jewish inheritance to which he was born. What was new was the fact of the kingdom having come. Jesus was a prophet of facts, not a teacher of new views and ideas. And he was more than a prophet — he was the Messiah to realize the ancient hope of his people. The people of Israel longed for their prospective kingdom; but this could only be the rule of God, earthly and yet heavenly, national and yet universal in aim. This kingdom Jesus also hoped and longed for; and he announced its coming — God's nearness, God's fellowship with his people, and through them with mankind. Then he showed in the words of prophecy how deeply this kingdom is founded, how pure its members must be, and he declares against the pseudo-Israelite conception, which saw the way and aim of the kingdom in an outward, literal triumph of the Jews. This view, which we may call Jewish, he certainly opposed. Then began the struggle which Jesus, as God's Messiah, maintained for the true ideals, the pure religion of Israel. The end was that the nation crucified its Messiah and handed over its hope to the gentiles. The result cannot be that the idea from which Jesus started was abrogated, but it was put to death on the cross. With the crucifixion the day of the conception of God's kingdom in the Israelitish sense, which underlay the preaching of Jesus, was past. That which Jesus preached has come in part; but what has come far surpasses the Israelitish conception. Israel had no higher notion than this — that its God, the God of Israel, is king over the nation and the world. Till Christ's days monotheism existed only in the form of nationality. Now God has really entered on his universal rule; in all lands and tongues men pray to him. Whether we call this "kingdom" or not is no matter, provided we worship him in spirit and in truth. If we use the word "kingdom," it is in a different sense from the one in Jesus' days. The idea of Jesus was eschatological, like that of the people. We rejoice that in our missionary toil we behold the end, and cry, "Come, Lord Jesus!" but our position is not quite the same as his. We rejoice also, like Ritschl, in the thought that a kingdom of God is already come. Jesus brought it to us.

With the first Pentecost began that which he announced. Let us ever accustom ourselves in the present and future to behold God's rule, and to believe in and await a glorious consummation.

We acknowledge and admire the earnest courage and thorough scholarship which characterize Professor Schnedermann's study of this very perplexing problem. But there seem to be portions of the teaching of Jesus about the kingdom of God which do not yield readily to this view, and it implies a restriction of Jesus' knowledge, even in the sphere of his mission, which seems unlikely, although it is not inconsistent with his divinity. We certainly cannot yet say what Jesus' meaning in the term "kingdom of God" was, but approaching it from the outside, negatively, we can to some extent say what it was not. And we are inclined to think it was not so restricted, Israelitish and unilluminated as Professor Schnedermann sets forth.

Knowing Christ after the Flesh, 2 Cor. 5:16.—Mr. H. Price Hughes, in a volume of sermons just published under the title of *Essential Christianity*, explains this difficult saying of Paul's in a somewhat revolutionary fashion. He starts with the fact that there is no allusion in Paul's epistles to the events of Christ's life, even to those recorded in our Gospels, except the death and the resurrection. Also that there is abundant reason to think that Paul never saw or heard Jesus during his earthly career. He then interprets this Corinthian passage as meaning that Paul here distinctly asserts that he and all Christians have henceforth nothing to do with the events of Christ's earthly life. We are to think of him *exclusively* as the risen and living Christ, who is seated at the Father's right hand, and at the same time dwells in our hearts by faith. All knowledge of Jesus' human life is needless and useless. The *Expository Times* (for January) editorially discusses this interpretation, and emphatically rejects it. A few extracts will give the substance of the article.

St. Paul's silence does not prove that he did not know Jesus when he was upon the earth. He is no more silent than St. Peter or St. John. He is really not silent. Still, the conclusion may be right, though the premise is false. St. Paul's knowledge of the facts of Christ's life might have been gathered from those men and women whom he haled to prison in the days of his persecution, and of whose defense he must have been a frequent, however impatient, listener. It might have been derived from Ananias and others after his conversion. It might have been obtained from one or more of those Gospel shreds which St. Luke refers to. It might even (let the assertion now be hazarded) have come from a deeply interested study of one or more of our present Gospels. No great harm, therefore, is done when it is said that St. Paul's silence proves he did not know the living human Jesus. But when it is said that he did not know the *facts* of our Lord's life on earth, that therefore he did not need to know them, and neither do we, the conclusion must be earnestly resisted. It must be resisted whether it is made in the interests of belief or unbelief. We know to what clever purpose Baur of Tübingen turned this mistaken admission. If Paul knew nothing of the earthly life of Christ

then he was the easier able to credit him with supernatural qualities, as pre-existence and divinity; his imagination had free play, and dogmas came forth as numerous as they were incredible. And although Baur's followers and representatives today have modified many of his extreme positions, this one they have retained as he left it; for it is the very foundation of the Tübingen system. Hilgenfeld finds nothing in the "strange sentence" before us to suggest that Paul knew the events of Christ's life; while Pfleiderer, with not a little assurance, says, "It is now becoming generally acknowledged that the teaching of Paul regarding Christ is not founded on an historical knowledge of the details of the life of Jesus. . . . We have no reason, then, beforehand to expect in the teaching of Paul as to Christ anything else than a *free Christian speculation regarding the contents of the Christian consciousness*," and the italics are his own.

What, then, *does* Paul mean by his words in this passage? The accepted interpretation is that he is henceforth to make no distinctions among men, that he is to make no distinction between Jew and gentile, rich and poor, bond and free. But how can such a meaning be squeezed out of the expression "after the flesh?" Where is that expression used in any analogous sense? And how does it mean that in one part of this verse, and something totally different in the other? Let us re-examine the verse. A word for word translation would read: "Wherefore we henceforth no one know according to the flesh: even though we knew according to the flesh Christ, yet now no longer do we know." The phrase "after the flesh" does not refer to "no one" or to "Christ" at all, but goes always and only with the verb. What he means by "knowing according to the flesh" his words elsewhere very clearly let us understand, cf. Rom. 8:4, 13; 1 Cor. 1:26; 10:18; 2 Cor. 10:2, 3; 11:18. It is evident that he recognizes a knowledge which is according to the flesh, and a knowledge which is according to the spirit, just as he similarly recognizes a walk, a life, a wisdom, and a war. He says there was a time when his knowledge of men was according to the flesh. Then came a crisis, his conversion. From that time his knowledge of everyone is according to the spirit. He had held before that there were just two classes of men on the earth—those who needed no repentance, and those who needed it but would not get it. But now his knowledge of men is changed. Before his conversion he knew Christ intimately enough, and the knowledge was an intolerable anguish, for it was a knowledge according to the flesh. But the conversion came, and Paul was Christ's loving and obedient servant. For now his knowledge was according to the spirit.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters.—The following topics for Chapter-meetings during March are suggested. Care should be taken to select for each meeting such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching different sides of the subject. Not more than five topics and a map drill should be upon any one programme:

1. The teaching of Christ in regard to the spirit of prayer, and the matter of petitions.

2. A comparison of Jesus' teachings concerning prayer with the customs of the times in his and in other countries.

3. The teachings of Jesus in regard to the kingdom of God, (*a*) its nature and extent, (*b*) the conditions of entrance, (*c*) the time when it should be established, (*d*) his own relation to it, (*e*) the character of its members.

4. Evidences of the growth of the hatred of the Pharisees during the period of the Perean ministry.

5. The cost of discipleship.

6. The teachings of Christ concerning repentance.

7. The story of the raising of Lazarus with special reference to (*a*) the relation of Christ to this family, and his reasons for delaying his coming to their assistance, (*b*) the supreme exhibition of the divinity and humanity of Jesus (*c*) as bringing to a crisis the hostility of the Jews.

8. Reading of Browning's "An Epistle."

9. The action of the Council.

10. The specific statements of Jesus concerning the manner and purpose of his approaching death and his attitude in view of it.

11. Zaccheus the Publican,

12. The acts of Jesus in Jericho.

13. A study of the parable of the Minæ with special reference to its teaching.

14. The teaching of Jesus concerning the possession of material wealth as a possible spiritual barrier.

15. A sketch of the visit of Jesus to the home of Lazarus in Bethany when on his way to Jerusalem, based on the scriptural narrative and our knowledge of the times.

16. The sayings of Jesus concerning Moses and the Law.

17. The attitude of Jesus toward childhood.

18. The anticipations of the disciples of Jesus concerning his future earthly life.

19. The methods of teaching employed by Jesus with special emphasis upon the parabolic method.

20. Jesus calls himself a prophet. Discuss his prophetic work.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The annual meeting of the directors of the Institute was held in New York City, February 9, 1895. The following members of the board were present: Rev. Arthur Brooks, D.D., Professor Francis Brown, D.D., Professor Edward L. Curtis, Ph.D., Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, Rev. W. H. P. Faunce, D.D., and the Principal, William R. Harper. Owing to the severity of the storm and the stoppage of travel, members living at a distance from New York City were unable to be present.

The Principal's report of the work for the year was presented, as also the financial report. Those directors whose terms had expired were reëlected, and three new directors whose names will be announced later were added to the present number. Professor F. K. Sanders was elected secretary of the board in place of President George S. Burroughs, whose resignation as secretary was presented, but who keeps his connection with the board, and remains a member of the executive committee which consists of five members of the board residing in or near Chicago. This committee was empowered to act for the board when necessary and to have special oversight of the financial needs of the Institute during the interim between the annual meetings.

The Principal, President William R. Harper, the Vice-Principal, Professor F. K. Sanders, and the Executive Secretary, Miss G. L. Chamberlin, were reappointed for the ensuing year, and the Principal's appointment of Rev. H. L. Willett as Field Secretary for one year from October 1, 1894, was confirmed.

Much interest was manifested in the popular work upon which the Principal made his first report. The members of the board were unanimous in their resolution to continue all the lines of work in which the Institute is engaged and to enlarge each department as rapidly as financial limitations would admit.

A local institute was held in Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, February 8, 9, 10. Six lectures on the Times of Jesus, discussing the Heroic Period of Jewish History, the Herods and the Romans, the Home Life of the Jews, the Industrial Life of the Jews, the Scribes and Pharisees, and Jesus in the Light of His Times, were given by Professor Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago. Both students and faculty enjoyed the occasion, and look forward to another institute with a more extensive programme next year.

An institute was also held in Kalamazoo, Michigan, under the auspices of the Christian Endeavor Union. Three lectures upon Old Testament subjects were given by the Rev. H. L. Willett. At the close of the institute a most urgent invitation was extended Mr. Willett to return in April and deliver a second series before the same body.

The following is the content of the programme of an institute held in The University of Chicago under the auspices of the Christian Union, March 1, 2, 3:

Four lectures, by Professor Shailer Mathews, on the Times of Jesus: (*a*) The Heroic Period of Jewish History, (*b*) The Herods and the Romans, (*c*) The Industrial Life of the Jews, (*d*) The Home Life of the Jews. Two lectures, by Professor Ernest D. Burton, on the Relation of Jesus' Teaching to the Ideas of His Times: (*a*) Practical and Ethical, (*b*) Doctrinal and Theological Questions. Two lectures by Professor W. W. White: (*a*) The Testimony of the Gospel by John to Jesus Christ, (*b*) The Development of Faith and Unbelief as shown by John's Gospel. A Question Box was conducted by President Harper and Professor Burton on the subject: The Effect of the Results of the Higher Criticism upon the Christian Belief.

A lecture upon the Literary Study of the Bible, illustrated by a book study, was given by Professor Richard G. Moulton, and also an address by President Harper upon the question: "Why should a College Student Study the Bible?"

The Sunday morning session was accompanied by a devotional service.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR BENZIGER is publishing in the *Journal* of the German Palestine Society a *résumé* of the Palestine literature of all lands for the years 1892-3.

THE new books published in England during 1894 amounted to five thousand three hundred. Of these, four hundred and seventy-six were in the department of theology.

PROFESSOR JOHN R. SEELEY, of Cambridge University, is dead at the age of sixty-one years. He is known in the religious world as the author of *Ecce Homo*, a great and influential book.

THE revision and republication of Dr. Geikie's *Hours with the Bible*, under the substituted title, *The Bible by Modern Light*, has been completed the last volume covering the period from the Exile to Malachi.

A VOLUME entitled *The Early Bibles of America*, containing nearly five hundred pages and thirty-three illustrations, is just about to appear. The author is Rev. John Wright, D.D., and the publisher is Thos. Whittaker, New York.

THE British and Foreign Bible Society has recently forwarded to the Armenian Catholicos at Etchmiadzine, in the Caucasus, a printing press to enable the priests to print for the Society the Scriptures in the modern Ararat-Armenian and the ancient Armenian.

PROFESSOR BAETHGEN, of Greifswald, has been appointed to the Old Testament chair left vacant at Marburg by the transference of Count Baudissin to Dillmann's recent position in Berlin. The conservatives of Germany regard this as a victory for themselves, so far as it goes, against the advanced teachings of their leading Old Testament scholars.

PROFESSOR J. DYNELEY PRINCE, of the University of the City of New York, is at work on a history of the civilization of Assyria and Babylonia, which aims to present in popular form an exhaustive statement of the results of the discoveries made in this field of ancient history, from the time of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions until the present day.

WE NOTE in passing that the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, the organ of the Presbyterian church in the South, has at last observed the presence in biblical circles of the Akhmîm (they call them the "Akhmîne") fragments which were given to the English public in the fall of 1892, two and a half years ago. The writer is Mr. R. B. Woodworth, and the point of view of his article is

rigidly conservative. The facts which are again recited, and also the opinions expressed, became very familiar to the religious public some time since, but perhaps are just now making their way into the Southern states.

THE course of lectures given last month at Haverford College by Professor J. Rendel Harris, of Cambridge University, England, will be published in book form. The subjects of the five lectures were as follows: The Influence of Homer upon the Early Christian Church; The New Syriac Gospels from Mt. Sinai; Methods of Research in Eastern Libraries; Palæographical Studies with especial Reference to Greek Manuscripts, and Some Recently Recovered Early Christian Documents.

A NEW number in the Bible Class Handbook Series has just issued from the press of Messrs. T. & T. Clark. It is entitled *From the Exile to the Advent*, the work of Rev. William Fairweather, M.A. The description and discussion of these four centuries is not a new undertaking, and Professor R. W. Moss has just traversed it in much the same way in his *From Malachi to Matthew*. But the period is very full of interest and significance, and certainly there is still much room for works devoted to it. The series in which Mr. Fairweather's volume appears gives reason to expect a scholarly, adequate and attractive treatment of the subject.

THE English publishers, T. & T. Clark (Scribners, importers), have in the press a work by the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc., Callander, on *The Sources of New Testament Greek*. The book is a study in biblical Greek, attempting to estimate the influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament vocabulary. The subject is treated in close connection with later Greek as a whole, and more especially with the *Colloquial* Greek of the period in which the Septuagint and the New Testament were compiled. The investigation seeks to prove that in place of a predominating influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament, the element common to them is rather the "popular" language in which they were written.

ANNOUNCEMENT is made of the eighth, and final, series of the *Expositor's Bible*, 1895–96. There are seven volumes, all of them upon the Old Testament, which will complete this valuable commentary on the entire Bible. They are: The *Book of Daniel*, by Archdeacon Farrar; The *Book of Jeremiah*, by Professor W. H. Bennett; The *Book of Deuteronomy*, by Professor Andrew Harper; The *Song of Solomon and Lamentations*, by Professor W. F. Adeney; The *Book of Ezekiel*, by Professor John Skinner; The *Minor Prophets* (in two volumes), by Professor G. A. Smith, D.D. These closing numbers deal with very difficult and much canvassed problems of Old Testament study. They will be received with interest, and may be expected also to contribute not a little toward the right understanding of these several books.

THE Clarendon Press (Macmillan & Co.) expects to publish early in this year the first volume of a *Local History of Phrygia*, by Professor W. M. Ram-

say, D.C.L., of Aberdeen, author of *The Church and the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*. The plan of the work is to treat each district and city separately, collecting all information that can be gathered from every source about each, from the earliest period when anything can be learned about it down to the final conquest by the Turks. The facts about the ancient religion of each district will be gathered with especial care, and the original texts on which every inference is based will be given in appendixes to the several chapters. The early history of Christianity will be treated very fully, and the Christian inscriptions will be collected in special chapters. Volume I. will be devoted to the Lycos valley (with the great cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossae), and to the extreme southwestern parts of Phrygia.

LETTERS have been received at the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund from Dr. Bliss, stating that the iron-bound door of Neby Dâud, which had remained open against the wall for many years, was recently blown down in a storm, disclosing on one of the stones behind it an inscription which seems not to have been noticed before. It is in Latin and is a votive tablet to Jupiter on behalf of the welfare of the Emperor Trajan and the Roman people, erected by the Third Legion. This takes us back to the time between the destruction of the city by Titus and the founding of Ælia Capitolina. The inscription was partly covered with plaster. It is built into the modern wall, about fifteen feet above the ground. Roman inscriptions are very rare at Jerusalem. A squeeze of it will soon be at the London office. Dr. Bliss has now excavated more than a thousand feet along the line of the old southern wall, and has uncovered the foundations of several towers.

A SECOND and carefully revised edition of Davis's *Vocabulary of New Testament Words* has been issued by the Hartford Seminary Press. This is useful. But we were waiting for Mr. Davis to issue a second part to his work, which should contain the remainder of the New Testament Vocabulary, perhaps in two sections — in the first, those words which occur five or more times; in the second, those words which occur from one to four times. Such a division is of course artificial, and is only looked for because it is useful to students of New Testament Greek in acquiring a vocabulary. Mr. Davis's present pamphlet contains the New Testament words which occur ten or more times, but our students should at least be familiar with the list of words found five times and more. The arrangement of them in groups according to their roots is excellent, and surely is the correct way to memorize them. Then if Mr. Davis would make one list of the whole New Testament vocabulary, on the present principles, and distinguish by some simple device immediately preceding the word whether it belongs to list one or list two or list three (whether it occurs ten times and up, or five times and up, or under five times), we should have a very useful book to recommend to our classes. We need just such a work and need it now.

A SPECIAL feature of the *Thinker* (London: Nisbet & Co.) is its condensed reproduction of selected articles from the current numbers of biblical and theological magazines. Each issue contains abstracts of ten or twelve such important contributions to Christian thought. The articles are selected from the periodicals of America, Canada, Germany, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland. The American literature is given the first place, and more articles from it are reproduced than from the literature of any other one nation. It is interesting to notice what American magazines furnish the material for this survey of our religious thought. An examination of the *Thinker* for the year ending last month (February) gives quite a list of periodicals represented. The *New World* leads, with abstracts of twelve of its articles; from the BIBLICAL WORLD are taken ten, from the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* six (but in the latter part of the year it seems to have been overlooked), from the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* six, from the *Lutheran Quarterly* six, from the *Catholic World* five, from the *Bibliotheca Sacra* four, from the *Yale Review* four, from the *Presbyterian Quarterly* three, from the *Reformed Quarterly Review* three, from *Christian Thought* two, from *Biblia* one. These are all monthly or quarterly publications. The weekly religious papers, even the *New York Independent* and the *Outlook*, are not represented. Yet the range of literature from which the survey of American Christian thought is drawn is wide and good. It is doubtful whether the exact proportion of articles from the several magazines which appears above is an intentional one — in such work the choice is not unfrequently determined by the periodicals which have come to hand when the material is prepared. But with some exceptions it is commendable. One wonders why the two Roman Catholic periodicals receive so much attention, as we think quite undeserved and out of proportion; and the *Lutheran Quarterly* is perhaps made more of than its contents warrant. The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* should be oftener quoted from. The *Century* has several articles each year which are exceptionally able and representative, such as that in the recent December number by Professor Du Bois. The *Methodist Review* has never been noticed, and the *Homiletic Review* and the *Hartford Seminary Record* frequently have important articles. The editors of the *Thinker* have done well, however, considering the irregularity which characterizes the arrival of foreign publications, and the distance from which they must judge the religious periodicals of America.

Book Reviews.

La Litterature des Pauvres dans la Bible. Par ISIDORE LOEB. Préface de Théodore Reinach. Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf. Pp. xv+280.

This work with its enigmatical title is a product of the modern French school of biblical criticism. M. Loeb carried on his investigations for some years, and after his death they were published by his intimate friend, M. Reinach. The literature which this volume discusses is that which is supposed by the author to have been produced between the return from the captivity at Babylon and the insurrection of the Maccabees. At the return from the captivity he supposes there was a class of persons, not necessarily organized into one compact body, but made up of the pious, just, holy, pure, and humble persons who constituted the choicest element of the returned captives. They were, in a word, the Puritans of that time, and left us some of the choicest ideas, religious, and spiritual, which they possessed. It should be said, however, that this theory owes its origin to Graetz who promulgated it in his commentary on the Psalms published in 1882. M. Loeb has taken up this theory of Graetz and carried it out to its logical conclusions. This class of persons, though modest and retiring, was yet exceedingly active in literary and religious work. This literary work comprises before everything else two large sections of the biblical canon, namely, the collection of the Psalms and the section of prophecy now known among scholars as the Second Isaiah.

This entire work is devoted to the analysis and dissection, so to speak, of these two works, indicating the different periods in which the several parts arose and their purpose. Some of the theories advocated in the discussion are of interest, as illustrating the extent to which the French school has already gone. The Cyrus of Second Isaiah is the Messianic Cyrus, and the author or the authors of this collection lived, not in Babylon, but in Palestine, some time after the captivity. The captives, that is, the exiles of whom the prophet speaks at the epoch of the Messiah, are not the exiles from Babylon, but members of Israel scattered among all the nations.

The opinion of the author regarding the chronology of the Psalms is that their composition should be located within the years 589 and 167 B. C. He does not admit as does Renan the existence of a single Psalm before the exile, nor with Reuss that any part of the collection dates from the Asmonean epoch. Nor does he admit with Graetz that the Psalms were intended principally or exclusively to be liturgical compositions designed for temple service. He says there is no historical background to these poems. They are a history of the Jewish soul at the time of the second temple, and a subjective,

interior, moral history, so to speak, in which there is nothing whatever retained of the external occurrences.

Space will not allow us to go more fully into his discussion. He has apparently almost at the same time as Maurice Vernes, and for similar reasons, entirely thrown off the yoke of orthodox exegesis, even the exegesis of Graf, Kuenen, Reuss and Wellhausen. M. Loeb certainly admires the great works of this latter school, but does not at all accept their results. He enjoys a liberty entirely his own and is bound by no shackles. The book is a good illustration and sample of the latest and most radical school which has its headquarters in Paris. It is simply the logical outcome of the free-handed and subjective method of criticism which had its roots in Holland and Germany. We see here the legitimate fruits and most startling results, even according to the acknowledgment of those who "set the ball to rolling." The author of this volume has been very highly praised, being a Jew himself, by those who work in the same line, and on every hand receives the highest commendation for his thoroughness and acuteness. The book, unfortunately, has no index, either of Scripture texts or of topics. The Psalms are designated in a table of contents according to the theme which they separately discuss. PRICE.

Assyrian Echoes of the Word. By REV. THOMAS LAURIE, D.D. With illustrations. American Tract Society. Large 8vo., pp. 380.

The author of this work does not claim to be an Assyriologist. "His has been the humbler aim of making a larger number acquainted with the work that has been done, and with some at least of the results obtained. He has sought to gather up the fragments that nothing be lost; so that humble believers who have been startled by the noise of the battle now raging round the Word may have their hearts reassured by the corroborations of the truth that lie stored up in every ancient mound and are brought to light by the pick of the explorer."

The standpoint of the author does not seem to be an ideal one. If he is consistent, he will be compelled to use only that material which confirms or seems to confirm traditional views, and to reject that which does not agree with his opinions. Where difficulties present themselves he is inclined to minimize their importance.

The author does not seem to take into consideration "the results which have been obtained during the last ten or fifteen years." Little or no attention is paid to modern Assyrian scholars. He has limited himself to ancient sources, ignoring the valuable work which has been done by such men as Hommel, Bezold, Haupt, Zimmern, Jensen, Winckler, Lehmann, Peiser, etc. The work as a whole cannot be said to be reliable. One is sure that much valuable material has been omitted. He is equally sure that what is given might be, is bound to be, unreliable. It is to be regretted that with so good a purpose the results should be so unsatisfactory. The field is one, however, in which few men are able to do satisfactory work. A. J. P.

The Book of Numbers. By the REV. ROBERT A. WATSON, M.A., D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. viii. + 414. Price $1.50.

One of the most difficult things which the expositor is called upon to do, is to present a live, striking, interesting exposition of such a statistical book as Numbers. In the last series of the "Expositor's Bible" Dr. R. A. Watson, who has already issued "Judges and Ruth" and the "Book of Job," has made such an attempt. He has covered, in his exposition, the allotted number of pages given to the regular volumes of this series. His method differs somewhat from other writers in the series. He takes up a section of a chapter, or two or three chapters, and gives us an expository and homiletical treatise thereon, the two being intermingled on the same page. Occasionally, as in the parables of Balaam, we have a translation from the original Hebrew, but in most cases we have simply an exposition of the text mainly as presented in the revised version.

In the introduction, he makes some comparisons between Numbers and the Greek drama, between Numbers and the Iliad and Æneid. His discussions of the date and authorship of the book do not set the reader on solid rock. He is seemingly determined not to commit himself. The book is evidently a compilation and not a journal kept by Moses, but when or where it was put into final form he is not willing to state. The compiler was compelled to use the same sort of facts and methods as compilers today, and was probably as honest in performing his duty as modern writers. He states, however, that the ethical passages strike the highest note and are the chief power of this inspired writing. In some sections of the book we arrive more definitely at his thought. In his discussion of the report of the spies, chapter xi., we find that he holds that the narrative is made up of two layers. On the subject of tithes, chapter xv., he finds the usual discrepancy between Deuteronomy and the middle-pentateuchcal books. His discussion also of Nazaritism will strike the reader as unsatisfactory (p. 59). In a discussion of Kadesh-Barnea, on page 384, he quotes Keil and Palmer, but does not seem to know of the classic monograph issued by Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull. We find also occasionally a typographical error, but the most striking one is on page 230, where "Exodus" should be "Genesis." His discussion of Balaam is peculiar, in that he completely mixes up the expositional and the homiletical. To some students and scholars this is an aggravating arrangement. One sentence is expositional, the next homiletical and hortatory, and so on, confusing the matter in the mind of the reader. This volume will take its place by the side of his other volumes in the series, not striking or new, but being a good, ordinary homiletical treatise and practical application of the principles which underlie the events narrated in the Book of Numbers.

PRICE.

Studies in the Christian Evidences: Being Apologetics for the Times. By ALEXANDER MAIR, D.D. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. xvi+415. $2.25.

It is gratifying to see that there is a demand for a third edition of this work. While by no means of the same class as Professor Bruce's *Apologetics*, it is probably more serviceable for the general reader, and well deserves the Gold Medal awarded its second edition by the American Tract Society in 1891. The third differs from the earlier editions in that the entire work has been subjected to revision, a chapter added on "Recent Views with Regard to the Pentateuch," and the whole work brought very well down to date. The author's literary style is admirable; his mind singularly well balanced, and while he can hardly be claimed as a specialist in criticism, his knowledge of the main line of both Old and New Testament scholarship is good. His method is stimulating without being polemical, and his conclusions are healthfully conservative. As a sample of his habit of discriminating statement, reference may be made to the new chapter on Pentateuchal criticism. Dr. Mair finds[1] (1) that the material of the Pentateuch is very ancient and not the fabrication of a late stage in Jewish history; (2) that the body of this material was partly compiled and partly composed by Moses; (3) that it is not necessary to deny redaction in the case of the Pentateuch any more than in the case of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; (4) that it is possible that separate passages, and the final editing was in the time of Ezra; (5) that this view does not interfere with the authority of the books; (6) that, at the very least, Christ regards Moses as being virtually the author or redactor, although not necessarily the final editor.

Especially commendable are, also, the chapters upon the "Authenticity of the New Testament," the "Unquestioned Epistles of Paul," "Some Important Converging Lines, and the Argument Therefrom," and the Appendix which contains notes illustrating the body of the work.

Taken altogether, it would be hard to name a better book to put into the hands of a young man or woman who needs a scholarly and discriminating presentation of the evidences of our faith that shall be at once readable and accurate. S. M.

Israelitische und Judische Geschichte. VON J. WELLHAUSEN.

This work represents the execution of a plan formed twenty years ago, but covers more ground. The original design included only the history of Israel, whereas the book carries on the narrative to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. It has grown out of the famous article "Israel" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, which was written at the suggestion of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith, and is intended to supplement the "Prolegomena." The greater part of the volume is devoted to Jewish history, partly for internal

[1] Pp. 286–7.

reasons, and partly because the critical substratum of Israelitish history has been laid elsewhere, so that detailed repetition seemed undesirable. The matter is arranged is twenty-four chapters, the first of which is introductory, dealing with geography and ethnology, the following nine trace the fortunes of the chosen people and their religion down to the exile, and the remaining fourteen pursue the development of Judaism. The account of the beginnings of Israelitish history assumes, as might be supposed, the unhistorical character of many of the statements in the Pentateuch. The Exodus is not denied but is treated very lightly. The departing Hebrews who represented only seven out of the twelve tribes were not very numerous, and were accustomed to life in the wilderness where they found some of their kindred. Their united action was the work of Moses who reminded them of Yahveh the God of their fathers, and made the conviction that he was the God of Israel and Israel his people the basis of the nation and its history. No Hebrew literature from the time of Moses has come down to us, although "The Song of Deborah" is only a little later. The journey through the wilderness of the Sinaitic peninsula is said to have been accomplished in a few days, a statement which implies the substantial rejection of the story of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. The rapid numerical increase of the Israelites in Canaan is accounted for by the absorption of a large number of Canaanites who were more highly civilized than their conquerors. Israel therefore passed very quickly from the nomad into the settled condition, and thus escaped the fate which befell some of the neighboring peoples of the same stock, who kept close to the edge of the desert, had in fact "one foot standing in it." The most noteworthy characteristic of the period of the Judges was the fusion of the old and new elements of the population, a process which was on the whole quietly effected. Political unity, which had been practically non-existent except in times of great danger, was achieved in some measure through the Philistines. It was this active nation of traders and soldiers which awoke Israel from its slumber. The war waged with them was the fire in which the Israelitish monarchy was forged. Of the first three kings David is singled out for fullest treatment. His significance which cannot "easily be rated too high" was mainly political. He was indeed a poet but not a sacred poet. It was late Jewish tradition which made him into a Levitical saint and pious hymn-writer. No part of the Psalter is pre-exilic. The story of the beginning, progress, and decay of the Northern kingdom is told briefly but freshly. Cuneiform literature has of course been utilized, although more sparingly than might have been anticipated. The identification of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III. (who, however, perhaps by a clerical error, is described as Tiglath-pileser II.) seems to be doubted. At any rate Pul and Tiglath-pileser are named in two successive sentences without the least hint that the same person is referred to. The remarks on the mission of Elijah and the rise of the new prophetic order are especially interesting. Elijah "the grandest of biblical heroes," "whose image has been preserved by legend, not by history," is rather hesitatingly depicted as the first cham-

pion of the supremacy of Jehovah. The idea of God was beginning to pass beyond the national barrier. But he and the like-minded Micaiah ben Imla were in advance of their time. Their work was developed by Amos and Hosea, and (in the Southern kingdom) by Isaiah. These prophets believed in a moral order which embraces the world, in what has been called "ethical monotheism." For them history was a drama with the nations for actors, Israel for the hero, and God for the poet; and the drama revealed with awful distinctness the divine righteousness. The immediate occasion of their activity was the alarmingly rapid growth of the Assyrian power. One of its main results was the striving after religious reformation. The prophets were the founders of the religion of the law. The rise of Hebrew literature strictly speaking, is ascribed to the century extending from 850 to 750 B. C. The contrast between the purely oral prophesying of Elijah and Elisha and the use of writing by Amos about a hundred years later, is explained by the transition from a non-literary age to one in which literature was cultivated. The chapter in which this view is propounded—"God, world, and life in the old Israel" is very striking and instructive, although many of the details are open to question. Very notable too are the following chapters, called respectively "The deliverance of Judah," and "The prophetic reformation." It is assumed that Deuteronomy dates from the latter half of the seventh century B. C. It is professedly a supplement to the decalogue, which may have originated in the reign of Manasseh. The discovery of it in the temple is noted without comment. Nothing is said about a pious conspiracy among the priests. Wellhausen is more reticent than some of his followers. The way in which Isaiah's teaching is handled is far from satisfactory. The translation of the well-known words which are usually rendered "Although your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow," etc. (Isaiah 1:18), as interrogatives ("shall they be as white as snow?" etc.) furnishes a very insecure basis for the daring assertion that the prophet proclaims not forgiveness of sins but simply righteous retribution. Almost as questionable is the remark that nothing is ascribed to the strong and righteous king to come forth from David's stem (Isaiah 11:1–9) which exceeded the measure of what was possible under existing circumstances. This prophecy in the ninth chapter is discreetly passed over. The work of Jeremiah, "the last, and in some respects, the greatest prophet," is discussed in a rather short chapter. His significance for development of religion is considered to have been very great. The record of his experience proved very helpful to the saints of following ages. "He is the father of true prayer in which the poor soul expresses its deeper than human misery and its higher than human confidence, its shrinking, and doubting, and immovable steadfastness of trust." The Psalms would not have been written but for Jeremiah. He constitutes a link between the national piety of earlier times and the individual piety of later ages. The chapter on the Exile is also not so full as might have been expected from the importance of the subject. The two prophets of this period, Ezekiel and Deutero-

Isaiah, pioneer two movements. The former, whose writings are the only remains of ancient Hebrew literature which have come down to us in their original form and extent supplies the germs of Jewish eschatology and substitutes holiness for righteousness as the Jewish ideal. The most important step in the direction of the law as represented by the priestly code was taken by Ezekiel. The latter (Deutero-Isaiah), who is responsible only for chapters 40–55, the remaining chapters having been proved in Wellhausen's judgment to be the product of a later period, introduces the thought of Israel's mission to the rest of mankind. "It is the exile which effects the transition from a national religion to a world religion and metamorphoses Israel into the missionary of the latter." The chapter treating of the restoration includes a long note on the identity of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, defending it against the theory of de Saulcy. The chapter entitled "The Law" sketches the distinctive features of the priestly code. Nearly half the volume is devoted to the period "between the books;" and this full treatment of an exceedingly important but comparatively little known part of Jewish annals is a welcome contribution to the literature on the subject. Many interesting questions are touched on or discussed at length in this portion of the work; for instance, the gradual development of Judaism into "a veritable idolatry of the law;" the rise and growth of the Sanhedrin; the names "Pharisee," "Sadducee," "Essene," and the sects which they describe; the origin and character of several books of Scripture, and the adaptation of earlier Scriptures to fresh needs. On all these points, as on many others, this volume furnishes much useful information and many valuable suggestions. The chapter on Herod the Great is a fine bit of historical writing, although the bloody old tyrant is on the whole too gently handled. It is hard to believe that in some of his most dreadful deeds he acted conscientiously. The chapter "the Gospel" in which John, Jesus and Paul are successively passed in review is well written, although it bristles with debatable matter. John and Jesus, it is affirmed, had to deal with the same question as that which confronted Amos and Jeremiah, and they answered it in the same way. They, too, felt the necessity for the fall of the theocracy. Like them, Jesus preached righteousness, but his conception of it differed from that in fashion. To the *opera operanda* of the Scribes and Pharisees Jesus opposed disposition, motive. Whilst they aimed at avoiding sin and keeping themselves holy, he urged the service of the neighbor. Morality, according to him, consisted in unsparing readiness to help others, in unselfish patience, in faithful work. Concerning the kingdom of God too, the idea of Jesus was different from that of his contemporaries. And he went beyond speaking of the kingdom. He planted the germ of it on earth. The writer's real estimate of our Lord can hardly be discovered from this chapter. He admits his utter unlikeness to his surroundings. "Ecce homo—a divine miracle in that age and that environment." Yet he seems to deny the resurrection. The conversion of Paul is touched very slightly. The metamorphosis of the persecuting Rabbi into the Christian apostle is not

in the least explained. The work of Paul consisted in cutting the bond which united the Gospel and the law and justifying the act. He placed Christianity in the only congenial soil. The last chapter treating of the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple and glancing at the subsequent development of Judaism is relatively unimportant. The work as a whole is a masterpiece. Facts gathered from many sources are cleverly grouped and acutely estimated. The style is always forcible, often brilliant. There are not a few short incisive sentences which remind the reader of Tacitus. As a survey of the history of Israel (in the wider sense of the name) from the Exodus to the second destruction of Jerusalem, looked at from the purely human point of view, it is admirable. As an attempt at explaining that history, it is far from successful. Wellhausen elucidates much but he has failed fully to account for the extraordinary vitality of Jewish life and thought under so many adverse influences. The phenomena as he presents them are an insoluble enigma. The book is neatly printed, but the absence of indexes is a serious defect.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Current Literature.

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Gesenius, W. Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament, in Verbindung mit Professor A. Socin und Professor H. Zimmern bearbeitet von Frants Buhl. Zwölfte Auflage. (Leipzig, F. C. W. Vogel, 1895, 8vo.) bound, M. 17.50

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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THE real significance of Israel's prophetic literature is now, for the first time, becoming appreciated, because men are learning to associate these great sermons with the historical events out of which and in connection with which they had their origin. It is agreed that Isaiah's sermons are for the most part unintelligible unless they are arranged in a chronological order and studied as utterances adapted originally to particular situations. In all these the historical element is sought out and its bearing considered. The existence of an historical element underlying the Hebrew legislation is not so universally conceded. The older view, according to which various laws of the Pentateuch had their origin within a period of forty years before the death of Moses, practically ignores the historical element. The newer view, which assigns to Moses the essence of the legislation, allowing the several codes to have grown up during the succeeding centuries according to the needs of the people, recognizes the historical element. That the upholders of the later view are rapidly increasing in number is of course evident. But the same question presents itself, also, in connection with the Book of Psalms. So far as most of us are concerned, the Psalms have no history. We read them and find in them the expression of our heart's deepest thoughts, without a question as to their origin. How is it now? Is there any connection between the Psalms

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN BIBLICAL LITERATURE

and the history of the people in the midst of whom they were first uttered? Here was the life of the nation; every century it exhibits great events and illustrious characters. Do these events appear in any way in the Psalms themselves? Are there any psalms which describe in a concrete way certain historical events, whether individual or national, and which may therefore be called objectively historical?[1] Are there any psalms which are the outgrowth, and in this way the expression of an historical event?

THIS at once suggests another question: Is there, in addition to what is ordinarily called the historical, or as a part of it, an individual element in the Psalms? Have we here expressions of individual experience? utterances that describe events in the life of the soul? Has sin been committed, and is there in a psalm the description of its punishment and its forgiveness? Has death approached, and is there in a psalm the expression of fear, or of resignation? Did individuals of this nation Israel sometimes pour out their inmost thoughts in prayer or praise; and did these thoughts, exhibiting, as perfectly as may be in words, the experience of a soul, take form in order to serve other souls which were to pass through the same experiences, or to whom there had not been granted the ability thus to express in words the feelings of the heart? Or are we to understand these experiences as national experiences, as representing the thought of the nation as a whole, rather than that of any one of the many individuals of which it was composed? Did the writer, perhaps, personify the nation as an individual? If the latter of the two views is adopted, it will be evident at a glance that the Psalms, thus described as national rather than as individual, must belong to an age in which the nation had been welded closely together, an age in which there was unity of thought and unity of aspiration. That this age did not precede the captivity is clear. If, then, the psalms to which reference has been made depict national

THE INDIVIDUAL ELEMENT

[1] Compare Psalms 106, 78.

[2] Compare Psalms 46, 76, 60, 65, 122.

rather than individual experience, certain limitations as to age will at once be fixed. Are there psalms which likewise are seen to be the expression, though not the description, of individual experiences?[1] Are there any psalms in which the individual speaks consciously as the representative of the nation?[2]

THE church, both Jewish and Christian, has recognized a large historical element in the Psalter, although this recognition has been, for the most part, theoretical, because the interpretation of the Psalms has, for the most part, ignored the historical element. The church, likewise, has laid great emphasis upon the individual element. The superscriptions, in assigning seventy-three of the one hundred and fifty psalms to David, plainly shows this tendency. The arguments urged by modern writers in favor of so large a number of Davidic psalms have likewise an historical basis. There is urged (*a*) the character of the history of the preceding period, which includes the religious revival instituted by Samuel, the schools of the prophets, with their general prophetic activity, and clearly marked spiritual activity—all of which is historical; (*b*) the character of the history of David's own time, which was a time of struggle, of multiform experience and of aspiration; (*c*) the frequent references to David as a musician and poet; (*d*) the varied character of David himself, as shepherd, soldier, statesman, priest, prophet, king, friend, father and leader. This is seen also in the historical inscriptions which directly connect certain psalms with important historical events. Whatever opinion we may entertain as to the reliability of the superscriptions, they offer evidence of this conception, for if true they prove the historical element to have been large, and if untrue they at all events show the feelings of the people of the earliest times upon this question. The newer view minimizes both the historical and the individual elements; the former, by declaring that few if any psalms were written before the time of the

THE ORDINARY VIEW

[1] Compare Psalms 3, 4, 7, 16, 23.

[2] Compare Psalms 58, 59, 64, 140.

exile; the latter, by laying undue emphasis upon the national as over against the individual element.[1]

The purpose and the result of the newer opinions are easily understood:

1. The Psalms must be late if they are national. They are, moreover, both late and national because it is impossible to assume that the Psalms preceded the legislation, and the legislation itself is late. The development of literature demands the late origin.

2. By one stroke of the pen David is removed from the pages of Hebrew lyric literature, and the tradition which so definitely and unanimously gives him the highest position among the poets of his nation is torn up by the roots. We see then that any opinion of the place of David in Israelitish literature turns upon the question: How many and what Psalms may be attributed to David?

Some Reasonable Conclusions

We may safely maintain the existence of a large historical element in the Psalter. The fact that there are so few distinct references in the Psalms to historical events is explained partly on the ground of the lyric character of the Psalms, which forbids the introduction of specific mention; partly because of the divine purpose that the Psalms were to be used for all time, and were therefore necessarily general in their expression; and partly, also, because of the changes which have been made in the Psalms themselves as they have been transmitted to us by their various editors. We must also believe that the individual, as opposed to the national element, is strongly marked. There are certain national hymns, but they are not many. The individual experiences, without question, often represent the national; but in a great majority of cases, as the evidence seems to show, the individual element prevailed. And while in prophecy events in national history

[1] While Binney and Green understand that all or nearly all of the psalms assigned by tradition to David were written by him, Delitzsch recognizes only Psalms 3–19; 22–24; 25, 28–30; 32, 34; 36–39; 41, 51, 52, 54, 56, 63; Ewald, Psalms 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, 24, 29, 32, 101 and some fragments; Hitzig, only Psalms 3–19 except 5, 6 and 14; Olshausen, Lengerke, Robinson Smith, Cheney, probably none.

more frequently form the basis of prophetic utterances, in psalmody events of individual experience are more commonly used. Herein consists the great distinction between prophecy and psalmody. The former is public, and for the nation at large; the latter is private, and concerns the individual. We may agree that tradition has gone too far in assigning so many psalms to David. It is hardly probable that the religious lyric was limited thus so largely to a single period of Israel's history, and that so early a period. To be sure, David's times were just the kind of times for such lyric expression. But it will be remembered that Israel's later history furnished occasions equally as inciting and equally appropriate. Modern opinion has committed a great error in denying to the times of David the production of any literature whatever. The truth lies halfway between. This leads us to the specific question:

David's Actual Contribution

What did David really contribute to the Psalter? Upon our answer to this question depends our estimate of his place in Israelitish history; for however great he was as a king or statesman or warrior, if we believe even a half or a third that has been told us, he was greater as prophet and as psalmist.

It is safe to assume with the majority of commentators that to David may be ascribed Psalms 11, 7 in connection with his persecution by Saul; Psalm 24 in connection with the removal of the ark; Psalm 18 in connection with his wars; Psalm 32 in connection with his sin with Bathsheba; Psalms 3 and 4 in connection with Absalom's rebellion, and Psalms 18, 19, 29, which furnish a reflection of his early life, though written late. The evidence for this will be found in the most severe grammatical, rhetorical and historical tests, the details of which, however, cannot here be presented. The fact that the great majority of critics agree upon these particular psalms gives at least a degree of authority to the assignment. If it is asked whether others may safely be added to the list, we may establish a standard upon the basis of these ten and upon the basis of this standard answer the

question. For our purpose at this time the existence of even ten psalms which may be ascribed to David is sufficient, and to this position only the most radical critics will take exception.

DAVID'S RELATION TO THE PSALTER

DAVID'S work as a musician had much to do with the Psalter itself. What had beforetime been in confusion is now organized. The idea of praise, though an old idea, makes, in his time, so great an advance upon anything that had before existed as to mark distinctively a new era in the history of music, and, what is more, a new era in the worship of God. Above all things else David was a poet and born with poetic genius, but also a poet by early training and education. His formal education in the prophetic school was in this line, and his whole life contributed all that a life could contribute toward the natural bent of his mind. With the songs which he contributed no other songs in the Hebrew Psalter, or for that matter, in any psalter, will compare. The combined hymnology of all the ages does not equal them in spiritual force and power. Nowhere else do we meet that sturdy, vigorous, uplifting force, that clear, striking, penetrating influence which is always to be found in these songs. David's relation to the Psalter included more than his contributions to it. His work provided the *foundation* of the Psalter. This is true not only in the sense that his work constituted the beginning of psalmody, but also in that he founded a school of sacred poetry. David was likewise a *model* for those who followed him, and his songs models for all religious poetry. In the later centuries the sacred singers imitated his tone and spirit, while men who imbibed the glow and fervor of his poetry wrote and sang, unconsciously influenced by their familiarity with his productions. So strong indeed was this influence that in later times many a song which seemed particularly strong and forcible was, for this very reason, assigned to David, its real author being unknown. David's work was an inspiration to later psalmody. No man with the poetic instinct ever read one of these songs who was not thereby elevated. David's life was an inspiration not

only to those about him, but as well to every Israelite born after his time. We must acknowledge that the Israelites of later periods read back into David's life and times much that did not belong there, much that was the possession only of a later age. It is, however, equally true that they read into the future — the far-distant future — much of David's life and times. Their prayer is for David, the second David; their ideal is the David who shall sit on the throne of his great ancestor. The Messianic hope, the subject of the truest and best poetry, henceforth fastens itself to this ideal of David. In other words, our poet lives on and on, continually referred to, continually longed for, the inspiration of all who sang of the glories that were coming.

It is not claimed that these few paragraphs present at all adequately the work of David. They have been written as a protest against that wholesale criticism which would practically blot the name of David from the sacred pages. What is here claimed may safely be said to rest upon a reasonably sure foundation of fact. Much more may be claimed, — may be confidently asserted, — but as has been said before, this is sufficient to vindicate the name and place of David in Israelitish history and literature.

EZEKIEL, THE PROPHET OF THE EXILE.

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Parentage, early life in Jerusalem, and exile.—False hopes in Jerusalem and among the exiles.—Called to be a prophet to the exiles.—The nature of his mission—the destruction of Jerusalem the dividing line in his work.—Teaching before the destruction of Jerusalem.—Later teaching.—Position among the prophets.

Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, first appears as an actor in biblical history when on that July day, B. C. 592, at Tel Abib, on the banks of the river Chebar in Babylonia, he was commissioned by Jehovah to act as his spokesman to the Jewish exiles. With a vision of Jehovah's majesty, unsurpassed in its beauty and glory even by the inaugural vision of his great predecessor Isaiah, the exiled Ezekiel was inaugurated into his great office. The roll given to him to eat, written on both sides with "lamentations and mourning and woe," was a symbol not only of his commission as the spokesman of Jehovah but also of the mournful character of his message. Small wonder that, overcome with emotion at what he had seen and heard, he sat dumb with astonishment for seven days among his associates, and needed a second call to convince him of the reality of his mission, and also of the tremendous responsibility which rested upon him as the divinely appointed watchman of his people.

Early life in Jerusalem.—But in order to understand Ezekiel's life and work it is necessary to know something of his early surroundings, somewhat more of the circumstances which preceded his call, and something of the condition of affairs in the community of the exiles. It is true that we have no exact data from which to form a picture of Ezekiel's early life, but still, by a sort of backward projection of the line of his life, we may be able to form some idea of the training of the future prophet. While probably too young to have any part in the great reformation of Josiah, yet a member of the priestly aristocracy as

he was, he must have been impressed with the spirit of that supreme effort of the noble king and his coadjutors to bring the nation back to the pure worship of Jehovah their God. He must have shared in that wave of despairing anguish which swept over the faithful of the land when their hero fell at the battle of Megiddo, and their country came under foreign domination. He must have sympathized with that struggle in which Jeremiah engaged, to hold the apostate king Jehoiakim faithful to Jehovah. We can picture the sorrow which filled the heart of the earnest young priest when Nebuchadrezzar, the victor of Carchemish and arbiter of the fate of western Asia, made his first draft upon the men and treasure of Jerusalem, which he carried away to Babylon in the reign of Jehoiakim. After a reign of eleven years Jehoiakim was succeeded by his youthful son Jehoiachin. The pathetic lament over the fate of the young lion in the nineteenth chapter of his prophecy leads us to infer that in common with other loyal hearts Ezekiel must have hoped for better things when the youthful Jehoiachin ascended the throne. But how soon were those hopes dashed to the ground! Jehoiachin's reign lasted barely three months. Nebuchadrezzar appeared before the city and took the young king captive, with his treasure, his mother, his wives and all the chief men of the land. With Jehoiachin, Ezekiel was carried to Babylonia. Together with many others of his fellow countrymen he was placed at Tel Abib on the banks of the Chebar, probably one of the streams or great canals of southern Babylonia. The condition of the exiles was not one of servitude. They seem to have enjoyed a reasonable amount of liberty, and to have been free to determine the affairs of their own community.

Affairs in Jerusalem and among the exiles.—Banishment did not prevent communication with the people still resident in Judea, and the interest of the exiles still centered itself about the city of Jerusalem. They regarded their captivity as a great calamity, and with confidence looked forward to a speedy restoration to their own land. These hopes were stimulated and strengthened by the declarations of their prophets. The message of Jeremiah, urging them to make permanent homes in the land of their exile on the ground that the captivity was to continue

seventy years, was received with scorn, and the authorities at Jerusalem were advised to silence the mad Jeremiah who presumed to make himself a prophet. In Jerusalem the fanaticism was even greater. The people stubbornly refused to regard their reverses as anything more than temporary. They refused to believe that Jehovah had forsaken his people—the temple and the holy city were their palladium. Disaster might, it was true, embarrass them temporarily, but Jehovah's city could not be destroyed. Their prophets even declared that in two years the power of Nebuchadrezzar should be broken and the glory of Jerusalem restored. And under the influence of such men Zedekiah was plotting to throw off the yoke of the king of Babylon. Amid such stirring circumstances Ezekiel passed the early years of his exile.

He was married and had a home of his own, and was probably a person of some importance in the community. So long as he was a silent spectator of the events we have no knowledge of his opinions on these great subjects which were agitating his fellow countrymen. But in the providence of God the time came when he was to be no longer a silent spectator. In the land of the exiles Jehovah needed a prophet to carry on the work of Jeremiah and his associates in Jerusalem. The young priest Ezekiel was the man chosen for the performance of this arduous task. His book preserves for us the record of his great work.

Called to be a prophet to the exiles.—Ezekiel was primarily the prophet of the exile. He addressed himself chiefly to his fellow exiles. His commission said, "Go, get thee to them of the captivity, unto the children of thy people." He had, it is true, a large conception of the future glory of his people, he hoped for a reunion of the dismembered realm and a restoration of the kingdom to the house of David, but he saw in the exiles the nucleus of the new nation. Consequently his efforts were all made with a view to their effect upon his associates. He had small hopes for any good results from the people still resident in Jerusalem. It was the exiles who were to be gathered from the lands of their captivity and to be established in the possession of the land of Israel. The restored captives were the ones to whom the glorious promise was given. "I will give them one heart,

and I will put a new spirit within you, and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep my ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God." It is true that Ezekiel did not exclude the rest of the nation from his consideration, but the fact remains that he regarded the exiles as the real Israel; they were representatives of the house of Israel, because in them lay the ground for the hopes of a new Israel.

The substance at least of his addresses was in all probability actually delivered to real audiences; the messages which he received from Jehovah were spoken to his fellow exiles. The record of his life renders it impossible to accept the conclusion of Duhm that "the book of Ezekiel belongs only in a few passages to the prophetic literature."[1] Hengstenberg has a truer conception of Ezekiel's character when he calls him a "man who lifted up his voice like a trumpet and declared to Israel its sins, whose word fell like a hammer upon all the pleasant dreams and projects in which it had indulged, and crushed them to powder,—whose entire appearance furnished a powerful proof that the Lord was still among his people."[2]

The nature of his mission.—Ezekiel's mission was to teach the Jews of the captivity Jehovah's plan for the restoration of his people. Their hopes were set upon a speedy return from the exile and upon the rehabilitation of Jerusalem and Judea. It was Ezekiel's business to shatter these hopes, and to convince his associates that Jehovah had left his city and given it over to the conqueror as a punishment for its sins. Jerusalem stained with the blood of Jehovah's servants, Jerusalem defiled beyond description by her unfaithfulness to Jehovah must be overthrown. A complete breaking with the past was the indispensable condition of restoration to divine favor.

The destruction of Jerusalem forms the crisis in Ezekiel's life, the dividing line between the two phases of his prophetic activity. The prophecies of the early period are mainly declarations of impending doom. The message was unwelcome to his auditors. With stubborn fanaticism they refused to believe his words. Their opposition was not unexpected. In fact he had been told that

[1] *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 252.

[2] *Christology of Old Testament*, Vol. III., p. 3.

they would oppose him and had been commanded to deliver his message at all costs. But their opposition had the effect of limiting his activity. By divine command he was forbidden to continue the thankless task of a public reprover among them; he was directed to shut himself within his house and keep silence except when Jehovah gave him a message to deliver. From the time of his call in the fifth year of the captivity, 592 B. C., until the temporary cessation of his prophetic activity in the ninth year of the captivity, at the end of 588 B. C., there are a number of groups of prophetic utterances, concerned in the main with the one great theme — Israel's guilt and punishment. The first group connects itself with Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office; the second group of prophecies is dated about a year later in 591 B. C.; the next group belongs somewhat later but still in the same year; the next group is dated in the seventh year of the captivity in 590 B. C. The next date that is given is some two years later towards the end of the ninth year of the captivity, probably at the end of 588 or early in 587 B. C. The twenty-fourth chapter alone belongs to this period. The end so long predicted was at hand. Nebuchadrezzar's army had actually begun that final siege of the city which resulted in its complete destruction. The punishment so long impending was now to be inflicted, the sentence was at last to be put into execution. This date is marked by a sad event in Ezekiel's personal history. His wife, touchingly characterized as the "desire of his eyes," was suddenly taken away from him almost without warning. Forbidden to give outward evidence of his grief, he was told that thus he would be a sign of the unspeakable grief which should come upon the house of Israel, when the "desire of their eyes," their beloved city, was no more. With this utterance Ezekiel closed his long series of prophecies concerning Jerusalem. In silence he waited for the end, a silence divinely appointed and destined to continue until the messenger should declare the fulfillment of the prophecy in the overthrow of the city. That announcement should open the prophet's mouth, should be the seal of his divine mission, the proof of Jehovah's power, and the sign for the beginning of the second phase of the prophet's work.

This period under consideration is almost devoid of personal incident. It seems clear that the positive opposition gradually passed into indifference, and then into a kind of respect and consideration, but the import of the prophetic message was but little comprehended. Add to this increased importance the crushing domestic sorrow which came upon him at the end of this period, and a few symbolic actions which he seems to have performed, and we have all that we know of the prophet's life during these years.

Teaching before the destruction of Jerusalem.—It will be impossible to consider in detail the character of the various prophetic utterances and the nature of the prophetic action during these years. With all the variety of methods employed, with all the wealth of imagery at his command, the prophet repeated again and again a few great fundamental facts and truths which may be clearly traced in all the utterances of this period. The first and most evident of these truths is the one already indicated, the approaching destruction of Jerusalem. The pictured city, the siege with all its horrors, the burned and scattered hair, the flight by night through the hole in the wall, and above all the majestic vision of Jehovah's glory departing first from the temple, and then, after the edict for the destruction of all save those bearing Jehovah's mark had been promulgated, the withdrawal from the city itself—all proclaimed more forcibly than mere abstract propositions could do it, the truth so unwelcome to his hearers, that the apostate city was no longer the object of Jehovah's protection, but that it had been given over to its enemies. To these fanatical enthusiasts as to the self-righteous religionists of Amos's day, the prophet seemed to be predicting a moral impossibility. They were longing for the "day of Jehovah," a day which they fondly hoped would bring destruction to their enemies, to themselves exaltation. And, like Amos, Ezekiel had to declare that the day of Jehovah would be for them darkness and not light, a day of punishment and humiliation and not a day of vengeance and glorification. Long before the siege of Jerusalem had actually begun and while Zedekiah was to all appearances an obedient vassal, Ezekiel predicted the attempt of the king to

escape from the city by night, his capture and his cruel fate. He also told his hearers that Nebuchadrezzar had decided to attack Judea and Jerusalem rather than Ammon.

But, further, Ezekiel declared that the approaching doom was punitive. Under the picture of the foundling child weltering in its blood, which Jehovah spared, nourished and made his bride, only to be deserted and scorned, the prophet declares that Judah has been guilty of even worse sins than her sisters Samaria and Sodom. The whole history of Judah, from the time of the deliverance from Egypt, had been one of constant unfaithfulness to Jehovah her husband. Disgraceful as had been Samaria's conduct, Judah's had been indefinitely worse and hence the punishment was inevitable. Nor was this sin entirely a thing of the past. Jerusalem of the present day was given up to the most revolting idolatries. The very priests turned from Jehovah's shrine to worship the sun; in the chambers of the temple itself the images and pictures of all sorts of animals were reverenced, while the women bewailed Tammuz, the Phœnician Adonis. The perjured king who was false to the oath of allegiance which he had taken, the false prophets who misled the people, and the corrupt priests, all were engaged in deeds which demanded punishment. Nor is it ceremonial sins simply that the prophet describes and denounces. Oppression and injustice were rife, the grossest immorality prevailed, and the poor were ground down by the merciless exactions of the ruling classes. On every hand the cry for vengeance was going up to God.

But Ezekiel insisted upon another great truth. With a despairing fatalism the people declared that this punishment came not because of their own sins but because of the sins of their fathers. They were suffering the penalty of the sins of their ancestors. "The fathers had eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge." Reform was useless if not impossible, repentance was a farce, "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die." Ezekiel meets them with a denial of the correctness of their statement. Punishment was coming, but each man should suffer for his own sins. The son shall not die for the sin of the father, nor the father for the sins of the son. Stern herald of approach-

ing judgment that he was, Ezekiel was also a preacher of the doctrine of repentance. Through the gloom of his denunciation an occasional ray of light breaks forth. A few of the hairs are to be preserved from destruction, a few residents of Jerusalem are spared, the exiles are to be restored to the land of Israel, even the faithless wife shall be forgiven, and anyone who will turn from the error of his ways shall live.

While the siege of Jerusalem was in progress Ezekiel uttered prophecies concerning foreign nations, the record of which is found in chapters twenty-five to thirty-two of his book. The doom of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia is pronounced, and the approaching conquest of Egypt and Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar is declared. But so far as Israel was concerned his public prophetic function was in abeyance. In the eleventh year of the captivity in the summer of 586 B. C. the city fell, the king was taken captive, and the city with the temple was destroyed. And still Ezekiel kept silence. In the early part of the year 584 or of 585 B. C., if the reading accepted by most critics be adopted, the messenger bearing the news of the destruction of the city arrived at Tel Abib. His arrival was the sign for opening the prophet's mouth. It marks also the beginning of the second phase of his ministry.

Later teaching.—The second period of Ezekiel's work opens with his reconsecration to the office of watchman. The function which he had hitherto been able to exercise only at intervals and in the face of opposition he was now to take up once more permanently and effectively. It is difficult to realize the despair which fell upon the people when the news of the destruction of the city reached them. They were prostrated at the calamity, they were hopeless for the future, "Our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and we pine away in them; how then should we live?" With overwhelming force the truth of the prophet's denunciation came home to their hearts, fanatical confidence gave place to deepest despair. This was the prophet's opportunity. He had now to teach them, as Davidson says, that "The Lord had not made a full end of Israel. The old era was closed, but a new era was about to open, and a new Israel to arise."[1] The fate of their city had taught the Israelites that their position as

[1] The Book of Ezekiel, p. 238.

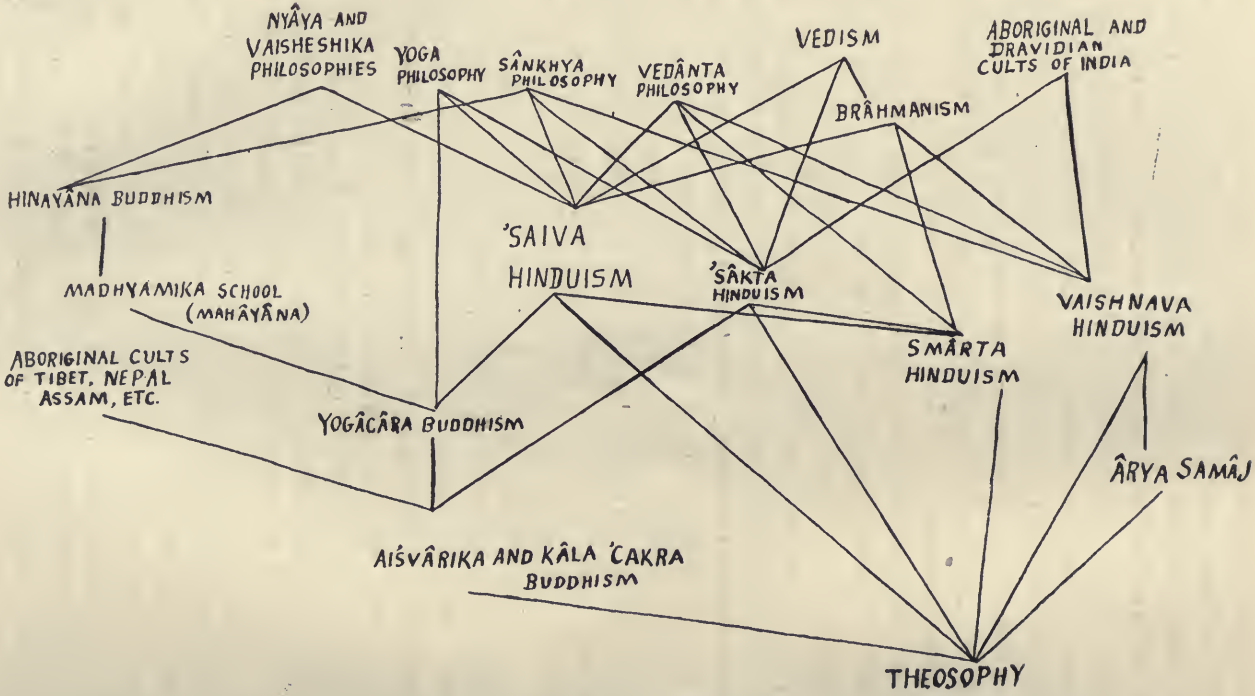
Jehovah's chosen people did not give them immunity from punishment for their sins. Amos years before had emphasized this thought as the very keynote of his prophecy, "You only have I known out of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities." But now the stern logic of experience had convinced the people of its truth. The hope for the future lay then not in any merit of Israel, but simply in Jehovah's pardoning and restoring grace. The new relationship was to be moral rather than physical. This fact is most clearly brought out in the wonderful vision of the valley of dry bones. Israel's hope was dead, their life was ended. But this vision conveys to the prophet and through him to the people, the fact that even from the grave, Jehovah will restore them and return them to their own land. Furthermore, he will re-unite the two kingdoms, with David as king. In that glorious future kingdom, the rulers who have in the past so cruelly abused and wilfully misled the people shall be replaced by a ruler who shall lead them in the way of Jehovah. The land is to be rescued from Edom and the other enemies of Israel who possess it, and is to be restored to its ancient owners and is to be blessed with marvelous fertility. Restored to their land and dwelling in security in unwalled villages, the forces of their enemies shall unite in one grand attack in the attempt to overwhelm and destroy them. But Jehovah shall protect them, and the invading host shall be utterly overthrown.

All these visions and prophecies belong somewhere between the twelfth or eleventh year, and the twenty-fifth year of the captivity, probably nearer the former than the latter date. After a long silence in the twenty-fifth year of the captivity, twenty years after his call, the prophet practically closes his work with the account of the splendid vision of the life of Jehovah's people, "in their final condition of redemption and felicity," which is admirably summarized by Kirkpatrick as follows: "A nobler temple and a purer worship will be called into existence, answering to an ideal which had never yet been realized; Jehovah will return to dwell in the midst of his regenerate people; a life-giving stream will issue from the temple and fertilize the desert; the curse of barrenness will be removed."[1]

[1] *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 336.

Only one later utterance of his is preserved for us. In the twenty-seventh year of the captivity, in 570 B. C., he uttered a final oracle concerning Egypt. The prophet declares that in the land of Egypt Nebuchadrezzar and his army shall find the reward for their long and fruitless siege of Tyre. With this declaration he passes from our view and his subsequent life and the date and circumstances of his death are utterly unknown. Tradition has attempted to increase our knowledge by the story of his murder by a fellow exile whom he had opposed, but the tradition is probably baseless.

Such, then, in brief was the life and work of the prophet Ezekiel. His peculiar style with its rich imagery, its detailed descriptions, its tendency to repetition, especially of set words and phrases, its occasional lack of delicacy and its strongly ritualistic cast, has had the effect of rendering Ezekiel less attractive to most readers than some of the other prophets, and has caused him to be compared to his disadvantage with Isaiah and Jeremiah. But admitting these defects, they are after all only superficial blemishes. The facts do not seem to warrant the conclusion that Ezekiel was a man of books merely, a writer and not a prophet. The record of his life would seem to prove the contrary. It is impossible to read his accounts of his commission as watchman to the house of Israel without being impressed with the fact that he appreciated the dignity and the tremendous responsibility of his position. With all his idiosyncrasies he was a man of intense moral earnestness. Almost single handed he opposed the short-sighted optimism of his people, and with his stern blows shattered their fond hopes. But when hope had given way to despair, he threw himself just as earnestly into the task of preparing the way for the future restoration. As a prophet of God who faithfully discharged his duty amid peculiarly trying circumstances, Ezekiel well deserves the honorable position he holds in that glorious company of prophets at whose head we place the peerless Isaiah. From the day when God appeared to him on the banks of the Chebar until the time of his last appearance on the stage of history he ceased not to proclaim to his people the word of Jehovah.


NYÂYA AND VAISHESHIKA PHILOSOPHIES
YOGA PHILOSOPHY
SÂNKHYA PHILOSOPHY
VEDÂNTA PHILOSOPHY
VEDISM
ABORIGINAL AND DRAVIDIAN CULTS OF INDIA
BRÂHMANISM
HINAYÂNA BUDDHISM
'SAIVA HINDUISM
'ŚÂKTA HINDUISM
VAISHNAVA HINDUISM
MADHYAMIKA SCHOOL (MAHÂYÂNA)
SMÂRTA HINDUISM
ABORIGINAL CULTS OF TIBET, NEPAL ASSAM, ETC.
YOGÂCÂRA BUDDHISM
ÂRYA SAMÂJ
AIŚVÂRIKA AND KÂLA 'CAKRA BUDDHISM
THEOSOPHY

MODERN THEOSOPHY IN ITS RELATION TO HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM.

By MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

II.

Contradictions.—Max Müller's criticisms.—Buddha disclaims secret doctrine; opposes speculation; forbids magic.—Buddhist "reincarnation."—Esotericism in Mahâyâna: Tibet, Nepâl, Japan.—Traditions of secret doctrine.—Theosophy not esoteric Buddhism.—Reincarnation and karma not "pre-Vedic."—Upanishads of Kshatriya origin.—Theosophy a form of Hinduism, derived from fusion of Hinduism, 'Saivism and Yogism.—Its relation to "esoteric" Buddhist sects.—Its growing Hinduization.—Influence of Âryan Samâj.—Mahâtmas apparently mythical.—Debt to Blavatsky.

The difficulty of the task which the expositor and critic of Theosophy undertakes is enhanced by the real or apparent differences of opinion upon fundamental points which exist between different representatives of the Theosophical Society, and the apparent contradictions which occur in Madame Blavatsky's own works. It appears that she gradually modified as well as enlarged her system, and so I have in my statement of it thought best to base myself chiefly upon *The Secret Doctrine*, her latest, most thorough, most fundamental, most authoritative and most intelligible work. If Max Müller had read the latter work he would have been obliged, I think, to alter some of the judgments expressed in his article on Theosophy published recently in the *Nineteenth Century*, which was admittedly based on *Isis Unveiled*, a book that bears all the thumb-marks of charlatanry.

Now, what we want to know is this: In what relation does the system at which we have glanced stand to the various schools of Bauddha and Vaidika (or, as occidental writers usually say, Buddhistic and Hindu) thought?

In the first place is it "esoteric Buddhism"? Is there such a thing as an esoteric Buddhism? The question seems to be settled at once by the Mahâparanibbâna-sutta, one of the most

ancient and reliable books in the Pâli canon, which states that Buddha categorically denied that he had any secret doctrine or kept anything back in his public teaching. In other sutras he speaks of Brâhmanical philosophy in general, and, indeed, of some of the very doctrines which are alleged to form a part of this supposed secret doctrine, in a way inconsistent with any other attitude than that of sincere and open opposition and condemnation. According to these most authoritative documents Buddha again and again forbade speculations regarding the classes of subjects with which Theosophy chiefly concerns itself, as being worse than useless. Hence, he taught that all possible opinions on such matters as God and the soul are equally heresy, and that the only laudable subjects of investigation are the moral questions connected with the knowledge of the miseries of existence and the extinction of desire, their cause.

Astrology, palmistry, and "occult sciences" he expressly forbade and classed as superstitions. Even the doctrine of reincarnation prevalent among theosophists is entirely different from the corresponding tenet of Buddhism. The Buddhist sansâra is not the passage of a spiritual entity from one state of existence to another, but a succession of entirely distinct existences bound together only by karma, in the sense of karma-va'sa, act-force, the method of whose operation is said to be absolutely incomprehensible to anyone who has not already attained to perfect Buddhahood. The distinction made by theosophists between the persistent individuality and the personality which is disintegrated at death, is unknown to Buddhism in any of its forms.

There is no question that Theosophy is the direct negation of the Buddhism of the Sutta-pitaka.

But when we leave the so-called Hinayâna Buddhism and look to Tibet and Japan, at present the two greatest strongholds of the Buddhist religion, and to Nepâl, the original home of the Mahâyâna, the case is altered. One of the nine Dharmas of the Nepalese canon is the Tathâgata-guhyaka, "The Mystery of the Tathâgatas," or The Hidden Wisdom of Buddha. This was esoteric, however, only in the sense of being more recondite and subtly metaphysical than the others, as it always made a

part of the general collection of sacred books accessible to all who are competent to study them. The Kâla 'Cakra or Tântrika school is esoteric in that it has secret magical rites, but in this case, as in that of the Hindu Tântrika system, which it closely resembles, the theories and formulæ are published in the Tantra books.

There are also extreme left-hand 'Sâkta sects in Nepâl, calling themselves Buddhistic, which hide themselves behind a veil of mystery, but, as in the case of the Hindu Vâmâ'câra sects, this is rendered necessary by the character of their rites, at the true nature of which modesty would not permit us even to hint.

In most of the Japanese sects of Buddhism, also, there are indications of a secret doctrine. For instance, the teachings of the Nichiren-shu center around "the Three Great Secret Laws"; but as these are publicly taught they are apparently esoteric in the same sense that the Nepalese Tathâgata-guhyaka is. The Hosso-shu, the Zen-shu, and the Tendai-shu likewise profess to be derived from a secret tradition, but neither of them makes any pretense of still keeping it secret. The Shingon-shu, the "True Word" or "Mantra" sect, explicitly claims to represent the esoteric tradition, which is alleged by Rev. Kô-chô Ogurusu, in a short history of the sect published recently at Tokyo, to have been transmitted by secret initiations from the Dhyâni-Buddha Vajrasattva. This sect classifies all the Buddhistic doctrines into the Apparent Doctrine, preached by 'Sâkyamuni, and the Hidden Doctrine, preached by the Dharmakâya, or "inner enlightened body of Buddha." But this "secret doctrine" is, like the others, publicly taught, at least in great part, by its professors, and it is so different from the theosophical system that in the popular exposition of it to which I have referred not a word is said of the two central features of popular theosophical teaching—karma and reincarnation!

It must be admitted that Theosophy has in many particulars a close resemblance to certain forms of the Mahâyâna Buddhism, and that the latter is alleged by its followers to have been in some sense esoteric. They say that Buddha, having found men unprepared to receive his profounder teachings at the beginning,

held the latter in reserve until towards the close of his career; and that they were afterwards kept in writing in a secret iron tower in the south of India, or in the "Dragon Palace" under the sea, whence they were not recovered until many centuries afterwards, when Nâgârjuna founded upon this the Mâdhyamika, the first in time of the Mahâyâna schools. Still later the Bodhisattva Asangha is said to have been taught the doctrines of the Yogâ'câra school, which he founded, by Maitreya Buddha, who came expressly for the purpose at his request from the Tushita heaven to a lecture hall in the kingdom of Agodhya in central India.

These various stories look very much, however, like *post-facto* explanations and justifications of the introduction of otherwise indefensible doctrinal novelties, and tell rather against than for the theory of a continuous esoteric tradition.

Furthermore, the sects professing to base themselves upon this secret teaching differ among themselves in essential particulars, and none of them holds the system propounded by Madame Blavatsky. A number of them have the doctrine of the Dhyâni-Buddhas in some form, and hold views similar to Blavatsky's on the nature of ultimate being. Few, however, seem to have accentuated the latter particularly, with the principal exception of the Ai'svarika sects of Nepâl, whose Âdi-Buddha is the counterpart of Parabrahm. I have not found in any form of Buddhism the peculiar theory of incarnation, the peculiar cosmogony, or many of the details of philosophical opinion characteristic of Theosophy, and must thence conclude that Theosophy is not "esoteric Buddhism."

Let us now pass on to the question whether or not it is an esoteric form of Hinduism, or a "pre-Vedic Brâhmanism." That it is not pre-Vedic seems evident from the fact that in the older portion of the Vedic literature, in the *Ri*g Veda Mantra, for example, there is no trace either of the doctrine of reincarnation or of the law of karma.

The Upanishads, however, as even their name shows, expressly claim to set forth the secret meaning of the Vedas. This is a very important fact in the present connection, for they were the

source of the orthodox Dar'ṣanas, or six recognized ancient philosophies, which Madame Blavatsky calls "the six principles of that united body of wisdom of which the Ġnosis, or hidden doctrine, is the seventh" (i., 278).

But that the Upanishads do not represent a pre-Vedic Brâhmanism appears from the fact that they themselves attribute their teachings, at least in many cases, to a non-Brâhmanical source, namely, the Kshatriyas, or military and royal tribe. For example, in more than one case a Brâhman is represented as learning from a Kshatriya philosophical doctrines which no Brâhman had known before. There is much evidence that the Kshatriyas were the predecessors and instructors of the Brâhmans in the higher fields of thought, and there is some reason to suspect that the Kshatriyas represent a non-Vedic stock, in which case the philosophy of the Upanishads cannot have had either a Vedic or a pre-Vedic origin. We are, of course, using the word Vedic in the sense usual among Western scholars; when a Hindu speaks of the Vedas he invariably means the Upanishads — unless he happens to be very much Anglicized, or a member of the Ârya Samâja.

It is only in certain particulars that the doctrines of the Upanishads or any of them correspond with those of the theosophists. It is true that the most important part of the philosophical side of Theosophy seems to have been derived from the Dar'sanas. The Brâhman and mâya of the Vedântins, the Purusha and Prakṛiti of the Sânkhya of Kâpila, the Yoga of the Sânkhya of Patanjali, and, under the name of karman, the Adṛishta of the Vai'seshika, all find their place in this comprehensive creed.

But still the philosophies do not furnish the theosophical cosmogony, or even with any definiteness the theosophical psychology; and it is a very noteworthy circumstance that Madame Blavatsky and her collaborators quote by preference from the later Purânas and Tantras, rather than from either the Vedas, the Upanishads, or the philosophical sutras and their commentaries.

This much is certain, that Theosophy must be classified, not under the head of Buddhism but under that of Hinduism. The

facts that it accepts the authority of the Vedas, and even speaks of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu, would alone be sufficient to determine this decision; but nearly all the elements of its religio-philosophical system are distinctly Hindu, and it resembles only those forms of Buddhism which have been certainly Hinduized. It is closely related to the Vedântized Yoga philosophy, but accepts the main thesis of the pure Âdvaita school (Kevalâdvaita) of the Vedânta. When it is remembered that the Âdvaita and the Yoga are particularly popular among the adherents of the 'Saiva form of Hinduism and that the Mahâyâna Buddhism arose from a fusion of Buddhism with the latter, the association of Theosophy with Buddhism, not only in the popular mind, but in that of its adherents, becomes intelligible. The Bauddha and 'Saiva systems flourished upon the same territory and entirely inter-penetrated each other; and Buddhism, as the most elastic and the least philosophically complete, underwent the least modification. The rise of the Mâdhyamika (100 B. C.), Yogâ-'câra (530 A. D.) and Kâla 'Cakra (*cir.* 700 A. D.) schools mark the successive stages of this process.

The last named completed the formal introduction into Buddhism of the Tantra system, with all its magic as well as its 'Siva worship, which accounts for the fondness of the theosophists for the occult sciences; and the Yogâ'câra school was professedly based upon the Yoga philosphy, then already Vedântized.

Finally, at least four of the Japanese sects which profess to possess a secret doctrine, namely, the Kegon-shu, the Hosso-shu, the Zen-shu, and the Tendai-shu, profess to represent the Yoga system, and the Zen-shu even has a subdivision (a branch of the Rinzai school of the Southern Division) which still bears the name of Yo-gi. The Shingon, moreover, calls itself the Mantra (*i. e.*, Tântrika) sect. These facts, taken together with the foregoing ones, place us in a position to see that Theosophy, while not identical with any of the various so-called secret traditions of Buddhism, is in fact based upon, or allied to, the Yogâ'câra and Tântrika (Kâla 'Cakra) schools of the Mahâyâna; although, as I have already intimated, it is so much more Hinduized than even they are that its center of gravity unquestionably

falls a long way within the lines of Hinduism. The process of Hinduization has in fact been going on visibly in the minds of the leading teachers of Theosophy since they inaugurated their propaganda, as may be seen by a comparison of their earlier and later expositions of it. This process has been largely influenced by the Ârya Samâj, a recent offshoot of Vaishnavism which lays special stress upon the Veda and its study.

Space fails me to go into the very interesting comparisons which might be made between this new theosophy and the other religions of ancient and modern Asia that we have not named, or with the old theosophies, gnosticisms and occultisms of Europe, though the field is a most attractive one.

Regarding the "Mahâtmas," in whose name it is taught, I need only say that I am not aware that there is the slightest evidence of the existence of any such body of men, guarding a common religious and philosophical tradition and possessed of extraordinary occult powers. Hindu friends who have traveled and lived in the wilds of Tibet assure me that they are a myth, and that the Tibetan lâmas, so far from recognizing the existence in their midst of the greatest of the world's teachers, look upon the Sannyâsis, or Vedântic monks (or rather friars), from India with the highest reverence, as coming from the land which they deem the source and center of religious and philosophical learning. And this in spite of the well-known fact that they regard their own arch-abbots as perpetual avatârs of celestial Bodhisattvas!

Unquestionably there are many persons in all parts of India *called* mahâtmas, that is, "great minds" or "great souls," for that word is naturally applied, by way of honor or compliment, to anyone who may be supposed to be a saint or sage.

The evidence seems to indicate that the system, as now presented to the public, owes much to the personal speculations and synthetic thought of Madame Blavatsky; in which case we cannot refuse her credit for a powerful constructive intellect, whatever opinion may be held regarding her character and methods.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

IV. His Teaching Concerning Himself.

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Jesus' claim to be the true Messiah — contrast between the popular and the true Messianic ideas.—His self-designation, the Son of Man — its origin and definition.—Professor Bruce.—Jesus the Son of God — its meaning as gathered from the synoptists and from the fourth Gospel.

For our present purpose we are to take into view, not the whole New Testament teaching concerning the person of Christ, nor even all that the Gospels teach concerning him, but only the most important claims which he explicitly made for himself. We can best group the subject-matter of our study under the three titles which are most significant in their bearing upon the nature of his person and work.

1. Jesus claimed to be the true *Messiah* of the Jewish people. The Old Testament was full of the expectation of a coming Deliverer. This idea deeply penetrated the life and powerfully influenced the history of the people. Israel has been called "an incarnate hope." Of this hope Jesus claimed to be the fulfilment. But Jesus did not fulfil the Messianic hope of the Jews in the way in which *they* had expected. In consequence, in part, of the decline of spiritual religion in the later Judaism, and, in part, of the hardships and oppressions which the people had suffered, they had come to think of the Messiah as a victorious king, a second David, who should throw off the Roman yoke and build up the nation in power and splendor. Their idea of the Messiah had become worldly and political. When Jesus came, claiming to be the Messiah, it was not strange that the people said: He shows no sign of doing what we expect the Messiah to do; he even disclaims any intention to triumph and reign over our enemies; he cannot be our Messiah.

His standard of the Messianic work and theirs were fundamentally different. It is probable that the chief significance of his temptation at the beginning of his ministry lay in the fact that there was presented to him a worldly and selfish way of accomplishing his Messianic career. He was tempted to forsake the path of humility and suffering; to use his miraculous power for his personal gratification; to lower his claims to the level of the sign-seeking Jews, and to seek the applause of men by the achievement of outward, temporal dominion. This temptation Jesus resisted. It involved the crisis of his life-work. He adhered with absolute devotion to the spiritual conception of his mission and kingdom. Thus at the beginning of his ministry he saw two paths before him, the path of ambition which led to popularity and to immediate, outward success, and the path of sacrifice which led to the cross; but Jesus knew that this latter path led by way of the cross to the true glory and crown of obedience to God, and to the true victory and kingship over the world.

The contrast between the popular and the true Messianic ideas which we have just noticed, throws light upon the singular reserve with which Jesus announced his Messiahship. On various occasions, when his miracles were likely to create a popular excitement, he said to his disciples: "Tell no one." He shrank from undue publicity and dreaded to be thought of by the people as a mere doer of wonders, lest superficial conceptions of his person and work should be encouraged. He wished rather to draw men's minds to his spiritual truth and kingdom. He wished men to believe on him "for the very works' sake" if they could believe on him for no better reason, but he greatly preferred to win men by what he said and was.

He did, however, upon occasion, claim to be the Messiah, or Christ. He never refused the title when it was applied to him by others. To Peter's famous confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. 16:16), he explicitly assented; to the blind man's salutation: "Thou son of David" (Mark 10:47), he responded, and when asked by Pilate if he was "the King of the Jews," he answered in the affirmative (Mark 15:2).

The questions, What were the stages in the development of

Jesus' Messianic consciousness? and, What were the steps in the actual recognition of his Messiahship by his disciples? involve difficult critical problems which cannot be discussed here. We may, however, note that the baptism of Jesus, Peter's great confession at Cæsarea Philippi, and his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, mark the three principal stages which we are able to trace both in the proclamation and in the recognition of his Messiahship.

2. The favorite title by which Jesus referred to himself was *the Son of Man.* What characteristics and functions Jesus meant to include in this designation is a very difficult question. The term does not seem to have been in current use at the time as a name for the Messiah, and many have thought that Jesus purposely chose an uncommon title as a kind of incognito. The phrase is found in the Old Testament designating man in his weakness and frailty, in contrast to God, as in Ps. 8:4: "What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?" In this sense it is especially common in Ezekiel. It is, however, found in one Messianic passage in the Book of Daniel (7:13, 14). After the description of the world-kingdoms, there appears to the prophet's vision "one like unto a son of man. And there was given unto him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." It has been common to suppose that Jesus' use of the title stood connected with this striking passage. But this is very uncertain in view of the fact that the Messiah is not here called the Son of Man, but is only described as like to a son of man, *manlike*, in contrast to the heads of the world-kingdoms who are symbolically described as *beasts.* We can, therefore, derive no clear and satisfactory explanation of the title, as Jesus used it, from the Old Testament.

The force of the title can be determined only by a study of its use, but not even thus can any one simple idea be found which represents, in all instances, its natural force. It appears to me that Jesus used the title in a comprehensive sense to designate himself as the type of manhood, as the One who perfectly ful-

filled the divine will in and for humanity. He makes all that is of human interest his care. He is himself the representative man who will do for man, under the conditions and limitations of human life, all the gracious work of love which God designs to do for him. When, for example, Jesus says: "The sabbath was made on man's account, and not man on the sabbath's account;" the sabbath is the means, man is the end, not the reverse he adds: "so that the Son of Man is lord even of the sabbath" (Mark 2:27, 28). Since the sabbath concerns *man's* well-being, it falls within the province of *the Son of Man*, the field of whose interest and work is *humanity*.

The terms must be very broad and comprehensive in which the significance of "the Son of Man" shall be defined. As soon as they are narrowed to express some more specific idea, they are found inapplicable in many places. All definitions which find in the term some feature of Jesus' personal character or some single aspect of his work, break down. The term seems rather to include the breadth and universality of the character and work of Jesus. Its definition must cover the field of human needs. As Son of Man, Jesus is humanity at its climax, seeking by divinely appointed means to bring man to his true life and destiny. We, therefore, find that the term more directly denotes, now one, now another aspect of his person and work.

Professor Bruce has indicated three elements of Jesus' person and work which, taken together, would very well represent the import of "Son of Man."[1] (1) It designates him as the man of sorrow and acquainted with grief. The typical text which expresses this idea is: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Matt. 8:20). His poverty and humility represent a phase, or condition, of his saving work on man's behalf. As the Son of Man he has voluntarily come down into the lowliest estate in which man himself is found, that he might succor and save him. (2) The title signalizes Jesus as the sympathetic man. As Son of Man his interest in man is as wide as the range of human needs and possibilities. Various aspects of this interest are indicated in such

[1] *The Kingdom of God*, p. 172 *sq.*

texts as these: "The Son of Man came eating and drinking" (Matt. 11:19), that is, entering sympathetically into man's social life and joys; "The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke 19:10), indicating that the great aim of his mission was to rescue man from the power and consequences of his sin, and to bring him into fellowship of life with God. (3) In contrast to his present poverty and humiliation for man's sake, are depicted his future power and glory when, as Son of Man, he returns for salvation and judgment in the clouds of heaven, accompanied by hosts of angels (Matt. 25:31 *sq.*) Professor Bruce concludes, "It thus appears that the title "Son of Man" expressed the Messianic consciousness of Jesus in three distinct directions. It announced a Messiah appointed to suffer, richly endowed with human sympathy, and destined to pass through suffering to glory."[1] It is difficult, however, to believe that Jesus directly and consciously attached three distinct senses to the title. To me it seems more natural to suppose that these distinguishable elements of the conception met and blended in the thought of Jesus in some comprehensive idea of his mission. I prefer to think that the title "Son of Man" designates him as the One in whose humanity God will realize in and for mankind his gracious will and purpose. To me the term stands for the whole aim and import of the incarnation.

3. Jesus also claimed to be *the Son of God*. He frequently alluded to himself as *the Son* when speaking of his relation to God, and, although he appears but seldom to have used the full title "Son of God," he accepted it when others applied it to him, as when Peter said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. 16:16), and as when the high priest said to him: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God" (Matt. 26:63), and Jesus answered affirmatively. In these cases the title "Son of God" is so coupled with the title *Messiah* or *Christ* as to indicate that they are nearly synonymous.

The title "Son of God" is most frequently applied to Jesus by others than himself, and especially by John in the fourth Gos-

[1] *The Kingdom of God*, pp. 176, 177.

pel. It is a much debated question among scholars whether this title is intended merely to designate Jesus as one who stands in perfect harmony and fellowship with God, that is, as the special object of the Father's good pleasure, or whether it describes him as participating in the divine nature,—as essentially, as well as ethically, one with the Father. Some hold that we derive only the ethical conception from the synoptic Gospels, but that the fourth Gospel goes beyond that idea. This general question I have fully discussed elsewhere, with special reference to the fourth Gospel.[1] It is possible here only to indicate briefly the elements and the bearings of the problem.

Perhaps the most important passage in the Synoptics in its bearing upon our question is Matt. 9:27: "No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither knoweth any the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." I do not see how anyone can deny that this statement makes an altogether unique claim for the Sonship of Jesus. No other "Son of God," in the sense in which the obedient and trustful are frequently spoken of as "Sons of God" in the New Testament, could, without sheer presumption, make such a claim. Jesus affirms here an altogether exceptional relation of intimate knowledge and loving fellowship with God. It may be held that this fact *implies* or *presupposes* a union of nature with God, but it cannot be said that the passage directly *asserts* this. Whether it involves this idea or not will depend largely upon considerations to be drawn from other sources.

Some of the passages from the fourth Gospel in which Jesus most strongly asserts his filial relation to God are the following: "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand" (3:35). "Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is from God, he hath seen the Father" (6:46). "I and the Father are one" (10:30). "I am in the Father, and the Father in me" (14:11). In the prologue of the Gospel (1:14, 18) and in his first epistle (4:9) John prefixes to the word "Son" the term "only-begotten." This word

[1] *The Johannine Theology*, chapters 4 and 5, on "the Doctrine of the Logos" and "the Union of the Son with the Father."

is also applied to Jesus in John 3:16, 18, but it is uncertain whether the verses in which it is used are to be referred to Jesus himself or to the evangelist. The questions concerning the text and interpretation of these verses are too difficult to be discussed in this brief article, and, moreover, they lie outside our immediate purpose, which is to indicate the claims which Jesus is explicitly said to have made for himself.

Jesus asserted that he existed in loving fellowship with the Father before he was born into the world, and, indeed, before the world was created. "Before Abraham was born, I am" (John 8:58). "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self (or, at thy side), with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (John 17:5). While I do not think that the title "Son of God," as used in the Gospels, is intended directly to describe Jesus as a divine person, that is, as one in essence with God, I think it is so used as to *imply* a pre-temporal and essential union of Jesus with God. This conclusion is derived, however, from combining the teaching concerning the Sonship of Jesus to God with his own assertions of his preëxistence in perfect fellowship with the Father. In treating of the general subject, moreover, the teaching of John concerning Christ as the "only-begotten Son" and as the eternal Word, who "was with God, and was God," contribute most important elements of proof in confirmation of the conclusion just mentioned.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By Dr. Gustav Weil.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D. and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

XV. *Attempts to propagate Islâm, 628 A. D.*—Soon after his return Muhammad sent letters[1] to Chosroes II., the emperor of Persia, to Heraclius, the emperor of the Greeks, to the princes of Abyssinia, to the viceroy of Egypt, and to various Arabian chieftains, demanding their submission to Islam. Some were actually converted, and others treated his ambassadors well, from policy or from fear of his robber bands. Chosroes indignantly tore up Muhammad's letter, and the Ghassanide Amru, a Christian Arabian prince on the Syrian border, executed one of his missionaries. This was the cause of the first war between Muslims and Christians. In order to avenge the murder Muhammad sent three thousand men under the command of his former slave Zaid.

XVI. *Defeat at Muta, 629 A. D.*—But Amru was prepared for an attack, and assisted by Greek troops put the Muslims to flight at Muta. Only Khalid Ibn Walid, the future conqueror of Persia and Syria, who shortly before, together with Amru Ibn Aas, the conqueror of Egypt, had accepted Islam, saved them from complete annihilation.[2] The news of this unfortunate campaign aroused such presumption in Mecca that some of the people, despite the treaty with Muhammad, did violence to his allies, the Khuzites. But they soon repented of their action and sent Abu Sofian to Medina to arrange for a continuance of peace. Muhammad would not enter into a new treaty, nor did he declare war in the presence of Abu Sofian.

XVII. *The surprise of Mecca.*—But as soon as he had left

[1] For an interesting account of these letters, *cf.* Muir, pp. 382–387.

[2] Vivid details are given by Muir, pp. 407–410.

Medina, Muhammad fitted out an expedition against Mecca; and in order to be sure of surprising the Meccans, closed all the roads so that they could get no news of his preparations. Just as they were about to send a second embassy to reëstablish peace, he pitched his camp in the neighborhood of Mecca with ten thousand men, four thousand of whom were men of Medina. So there was nothing for the chief men of the city to do but to receive him as ruler as well as prophet. Only a few of his bitterest enemies still sought to force him to enter sword in hand, but they were obliged to yield to superior force and either to flee or follow the example of their more prudent fellow citizens. When order was restored, Muhammad betook himself to the Kaaba,[1] and according to an old custom, made seven circuits, each time kissing the Black Stone, an ancient holy relic, whose origin tradition traces back to Adam. He then destroyed numerous images which had been placed around the temple, and also the statues of Abraham and of other prophets, with which the interior was adorned. When the temple had been purified from everything which conflicted with the worship of the one God, Muhammad established his worship. He then assembled the chiefs of the city and promised full security of life and property for themselves and their fellow-citizens. Only eleven men and four women who had made themselves especially obnoxious to him or to Islâm were excepted from the general amnesty, and only four of these were actually executed. Then he, as the apostle of God, received the homage of the people, both men and women, on the hill Safa. Many, however, recognized him as temporal ruler, but refused to pay him homage as a prophet. Muhammad put forth every effort to win the Meccans; he confirmed many of them in their former dignities and offices, and proclaimed anew the city and its district a holy and inviolate territory. On the other side he quieted the people of Medina, who feared that he might again choose Mecca for his residence.

XVIII. *The last rally of the Arab tribes, 630 A. D.*—But while Muhammad was busy strengthening his power in Mecca and some

[1] See Hughes, *Dict. Islâm*, article Ka'bah for a very complete description. *Cf.* also Sura 5:96–100.

of his lieutenants were stamping out idolatry in the vicinity, an army was gathered from various warlike tribes of Arabia at the city of Taif in order to put a stop to his further conquests. As soon as Muhammad received information of this uprising, having reinforced his Medina army by two thousand Meccans, he took the field against the enemy. But a portion of the idolaters made an ambush in the valley of Hunain[1] and attacked him so fiercely that most of his troops fled. However, they soon recovered from their panic and returned to the attack at the appeal of Abbas, an uncle of the prophet, and soon overcame their adversaries. A large number were killed or taken prisoners, and their property[2] fell into the hands of the victors. The Thaqifites and some other families found a safe refuge in the strong city of Taif, which Muhammad besieged in vain for several weeks. After the retreat from Taif Muhammad was dilatory in distributing the booty and also arranged that the prisoners of the tribe of Hawazin[3] should be released without ransom. His exasperated soldiers demanded their share and even laid violent hands on him. Even his most devoted supporters heaped him with reproaches because he, ignoring the older Muslims, had given so liberally to the chiefs of the Quraish and to some Bedouin tribes, either from the total booty or from the portion reserved for charity, that several hundred camels were gone. But Muhammad appeased them by reiterating his promise to return to Medina, and represented to them that these presents were in no sense a mark of especial esteem, but quite the contrary, for he considered that he was able to win these people to his cause only through earthly rewards.[4]

XIX. *The year of deputations.*—Before his return to Medina Muhammad appointed representatives to direct the political and religious affairs respectively of the city of Mecca, and also to represent him. Its conquest raised his reputation so high that embassies flocked from all quarters of Arabia to do homage to him either as the apostle of God, or at least as prince of Arabia, and

[1] Sura 9: 25. The valley was only a few miles from Mecca; *cf.* Muir, p. 429 ff.

[2] They had brought all their possessions with them; *cf.* Muir, *loc. cit.*

[3] To which tribe Muhammad's foster mother belonged; *cf.* Muir, p. 434.

[4] Sura 9: 57 ff.

therefore the next year was called the "year of deputations."[1] Among others the Banu Hanifa appeared, at whose head was one Musailama,[2] a self-styled prophet against whom war was waged after the death of Muhammad. But we know nothing reliable concerning their intercourse. We learn from a letter sent by Muhammad to the converted people of Najran that besides belief in God, Muhammad, hell, and paradise, he especially insisted on prayer at fixed times and the attendant purifications as well as the pilgrimage to Mecca and the giving of alms. The most important prohibition is that forbidding recourse, in case of disputes, to the assistance of relatives instead of appealing to law and authority, for only thus could the constant tribal feuds be made to cease, and a national unity established. Disobedience to this was punished with death.

XX. *The campaign of Tabûk, 631 A. D.*—The numerous submissions which Muhammad received at this time may have determined him, in order to avenge his defeat at Muta, to summon all his allies, in the name of God, to take part in a campaign against the Greeks.[3] But not only the distant tribes but even the people of Medina failed to respond. Some excused themselves on the ground of the oppressive heat which would be encountered in this campaign. Others were engaged in the date harvest or could not raise the necessary provisions for the journey; but the majority did not have the courage to encounter the Greeks who were again winning victories under Heraclius. With the greatest difficulty he collected thirty thousand men, half of whom, however, on the second day after their departure from Mecca, returned with Abd Allah Ibn Ubaj, untroubled by the damning verses which Muhammad hurled at them.[4] Of course with such a small force Muhammad could not venture to go near the enemy, so he only went as far as Tabûk, a small town about halfway to Damascus in the direction of Aila.[5] Even the bold

[1] A. H. (*anno Hijra*) 9. (A. D. 630, 631).

[2] About him *cf.* Hughes, p. 422.

[3] The capital of the "Eastern Empire" was Byzantium. Syria was under the sway of the Greek emperor at this time, Damascus being its chief city.

[4] Sura 9: 82–86. Muir lays much less stress on the symptoms of mutiny, p. 455.

[5] Aila is the ancient Elath at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba.

Umar advised him to be satisfied with the submission of some petty neighboring princes and to postpone the battle with the Greeks until a more favorable time. Muhammad followed this advice, but on the way back he was forced to pass over many acts of insubordination on the part of the soldiers, who had been disappointed in their hopes of rich booty, which he probably would have punished with death under other circumstances. Muhammad was severe only towards the hypocritical Banu Ghanim, who had out of mere jealousy of the other people of Quba built a rival mosque[1] which they had urged the prophet to consecrate, and towards some stay-at-home men of Medina who passed as good Muslims but had remained behind.

XXI. *Active measures against idolaters.*—Muhammad was too weak to cut a path with the sword for Islam beyond the borders of the peninsula of Arabia. He, nevertheless, felt quite strong enough no longer to allow any independent non-Muslims within it. Therefore he sent Ali to Mecca to proclaim to all the Arabs at the time of the pilgrimage that every treaty between him and the unbelievers which did not expire at a fixed time should be considered abrogated after an interval of four months. Henceforth no unbeliever, whether idolater, Jew, or Christian, could tread the holy territory of Mecca. The latter could, upon payment of tribute, continue in their old faith; but against the idolaters who had no special agreement, complete annihilation was planned, if they persisted in unbelief.

XXII. *The farewell pilgrimage, A. D. 631.*—This proclamation, together with the death of Abd Allah Ibn Ubaj, after which Muhammad first became really sole ruler in Medina, caused most of the people of Arabia to submit to him, so that at the end of the tenth year of the Hijra he could undertake a pilgrimage and preach his most important laws and doctrines in complete security at the head of at least forty thousand believers. On the hill of Arafat, a few miles east of Mecca, on which even before this time the Arabs were accustomed to gather on the ninth day of the month of pilgrimage, Muhammad preached a sermon in which he first set forth the customs and laws appertaining to the

[1] Sura 9: 107 ff.

pilgrimage which were designed to put the pilgrim in a state of mind above everything common and worldly. At the beginning of a pilgrimage the pilgrim consecrates himself to the Supreme Being by this prayer: "Here am I at thy service, O God! Here am I at thy service. Thou hast no equal, praise belongs to thee alone, all good comes from thee, thine is the kingdom, no one shares it with thee." During the journey the pilgrim must wear a plain garment, abstain from hunting,[1] avoid quarreling, and refrain from all sensual pleasures. In Mecca itself he must make several visits to the temple and other sanctuaries, in which various prayers are to be said; then the beasts for sacrifice,[2] which he has brought with him, are slaughtered and the greater part of them distributed among the poor. To the last duty Muhammad added yet another, that of the rich and strong towards the poor and weak. He spoke in the most decided terms against usurers and other heartless believers, and declared canceled all interest which had accumulated in times past, although his own uncle Abbas was the principal sufferer thereby. Moreover he quashed all previous cases of homicide, although no vengeance had yet been taken for one of his cousins; all future cases were to be punished by the legal judge and not at the caprice of the injured parties. Furthermore he recommended the weak, helpless wife to the love and justice of her husband, and secured to her a definite share of his estate.[3] Then, after he had denounced some heathen customs concerning the holy months and advocated the retention of a pure lunar year without intercalation, he went on, "O ye people! Satan has surely given up all hope of being worshiped longer in this land; still be continually on your guard and always act in accordance with your faith. Hold fast to the book of God. He who takes it for guidance cannot go wrong. Take my words to heart, for I have attained my end. Ye have as a standard the plain word of God and the teachings of his prophet. Consider my words and bethink yourselves that all Muslims are brothers; that the property of one is not permitted to another, unless freely given. God commands

[1] Sura 5:1–3, 96.
[2] Sura 22:37, 38.
[3] Sura 4:1–25, *passim*.

you that you, until the day on which you shall be received by him, hold the life and property of your neighbors as sacred as the holy month in which we are now, as the consecrated territory in which we are assembled, and as the great festival which we celebrate today." The following words in the Quran formed the end of his speech, and, according to Muslim tradition, were revealed to him on the spot: "Today the unbelievers are giving up their hopes of accomplishing anything against you believers; fear them not, only fear me. Today your religion has reached completeness. Today my mercy is completed unto you, I have chosen Islâm (*i. e.*, resignation) for your faith."[1]

On the return journey to Mecca, which Muhammad made on the 14th of the pilgrimage month, he recommended Ali, against whom some complaints had arisen in regard to his administration in Yemen, to the love and protection of all Muslims, and had them swear by their faith in God, Muhammad, the resurrection, paradise, and hell, to consider and treat him always as his nearest relative and friend.[2]

XXIII. *His last illness.*—Some months after this last pilgrimage Muhammad made ready for a third campaign in Syria, but on account of his sudden illness the preparations were completed by his successor, Abu Bakr. His malady first became dangerous when, already sick with fever, he went by night to the cemetery of Medina,[3] extolled the calm quiet of the dead, prayed for them, and rejoiced that he was soon to escape the storms of this world. However, he still went out for some days and visited his wives, until he finally felt too weak. Then he chose as his sick room the house of his favorite wife, Ayisha. This adjoined the mosque, and he left it only to take part in the public prayers, in which Abu Bakr officiated in his place as Imam or reader. One day his fever left him for a moment in consequence of a cold bath, and he made an address to the people in which he recommended to the care of all Muslims Abu Bakr and Usama, the son of his freedman, Zaid, whom he had named as commander of the

[1] Sura 5[5].

[2] The Shi'a sect, which recognizes Ali as the rightful successor of Muhammad, appeals to these words and celebrates as a feast-day the day of their utterance.

[3] For a fuller account *cf.* Muir, p. 496.

expedition against the Greeks. Then he declared himself ready to give satisfaction to anyone whom he had wronged in any way. He admonished the people who had come from Mecca with him always to treat the people of Medina, his helpers, with esteem and honor, and he exhorted them for their part to live on good terms with the refugees. Hereupon he is said to have prepared his hearers for his death, and to have enunciated the following verses of the Quran: "By the afternoon! Man goeth to corruption, except those who believe, do good works, and who mutually recommend truth and perseverance in the faith."[1] He then added, probably anticipating the desertion of many Arabs who were only outwardly converted, perhaps also the coming civil wars on account of the succession and with the intention of removing all blame from himself: "Hell flames, the resurrection draws near, like the latter part of a dark night; but by God you can lay no blame on me. I have permitted only what the Quran permits and forbidden only what the Quran forbids." Some days later, during an attack of fever, he is said to have asked for writing materials in order to set down or have written something which would ward off strife and error, therefore apparently to name his successor as ruler of the believers. But Umar opposed the granting of this request, it is conjectured, because he feared that Ali might be designated, while he, as he soon showed, had decided for Abu Bakr; and so the highly honored prophet, law-giver, and statesman died,[2] without having left any solution to the most important question which, after his death, was to convulse the bereaved kingdom.

In spite of the above-mentioned speech, the wording of which we therefore doubt, at least in the matter of the announcement of his approaching death, there was great consternation among the Muslims when the news of his demise spread abroad. Even Umar was unwilling to believe it, and sought to convince the people that the prophet still lived. But Abu Bakr pronounced him dead, and said to the assembled multitude: "Whoever of you has served Muhammad, know that he is dead, but whoever

[1] Sura, 103.

[2] June 8, 632 A. D., his sixty-third year. For a detailed account of his death *cf.* Muir, pp. 499–509.

has served the God of Muhammad, let him continue in his service, for he liveth and never dies." Then he recited a verse of the Quran[1] in which Muhammad's death was predicted, but which none of those present remembered hearing before. Umar allowed himself to be persuaded and publicly announced that his first position was erroneous, arising from a misunderstanding of a passage in the Quran.[2]

XXIV. *The choice of Muhammad's successor.*—As soon as Muhammad's death became a certainty the discussion about the choice of his successor began. But as Ali took no part therein, the party in favor of Abu Bakr had only to contend with the claims of some of the people of Medina at whose head was Sa'd Ibn Ubada. Abu Bakr's eloquence and Umar's energy joined to the divisions among the citizens and the support of the Aslamites won the victory for Abu Bakr, and he received the homage of the principal Muslims in Medina. After much disputing, Muhammad was buried on the night of the 9th of June, in the house of Ayisha, where he died, which later, when the mosque was enlarged, was incorporated in it.

XXV. *The private life of Muhammad.*—A glance at the private and family life of the Arabian prophet is important for the right comprehension of his character, and serves to explain many places in the Quran. By his marriage with Khadîja, which we must mention first because he owed his independence and self-reliance entirely to her, Muhammad had a son whom he named Qasim (whence he was called Abu-l' Qasim, "the father of Qasim") and four daughters. Qasim died in infancy, two of his daughters married in succession the future caliph, Uthman, the third married her cousin, Abul Aas, and Fatima, the youngest and the only one by whom Muhammad's race was perpetuated, was united to her cousin Ali. Besides Khadîja, Muhammad had eleven wives and several concubines. Among the latter the only one deserving especial mention is the Coptic girl Mary, sent as a present from the viceroy of Egypt, for she bore him a son who, however, like Qasim, died young. She also, as we will soon see,

[1] Sura 3: 138.

[2] Sura 2: 137. Umar supposed that so long as his people endured he would remain among them as a witness.

called forth some remarkable Quran verses. Among the former we merely mention in passing Maimuna, a sister-in-law of his uncle Abbas, the aunt of the general Khalid, and Umm Habiba, the daughter of Abu Sufian; but we dwell longer on Ayisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr, Hafsa, the daughter of Umar, and Zainab, the daughter of Jahsh and the sister of the general Abd Allah Ibn Jahsh, who made the first military or predatory expedition in the sacred month of Rajab. To Ayisha Muhammad was betrothed a few months after the death of Khadîja, but as she was but seven years of age he did not marry her until later at Medina. She may not be lightly passed over, because she was Muhammad's only virgin bride, and his best beloved wife; and as such had the most influence over him. She is, moreover, the authority for many traditions which, as well as Muslim legends, serve to support Islâm, and she herself played no unimportant part in the civil war beginning under Uthman and ending with the victory of the Umayyads. But in an introduction to the Quran she merits an especial place because she occasioned various passages in the Quran which serve to exhibit Muhammad's character both as prophet and as law-giver. In one of these Hafsa also appears. Moreover, this lady held a position almost equivalent to that of Ayisha, for, as we shall see, she had charge of the first collection of the fragments of the Quran which Uthman used for his recension.

XXVI. *Muhammad's revelation regarding Mary, the Coptic girl.* —The following circumstance was the cause of the revelation which has to do with Hafsa and Ayisha. Muhammad one day had a secret meeting with the Coptic girl, Mary, and was surprised by Hafsa, in whose house it unluckily happened. In order to quiet his jealous and insulted wife Muhammad promised to have nothing more to do with Mary. But Hafsa made no secret of the whole matter, and Muhammad was treated with such contempt by his whole harem, and especially by Hafsa and Ayisha, that he spent an entire month in seclusion. Later on he threatened them with divorce in the name of God, and then supported by a revelation[1] resumed his relations with Mary.

[1] Sura 66. Compare also Muir, p. 442, and Palmer, Vol. II., p. 290, note.

XXVII. *His revelation relating to Ayisha.*—Ayisha alone was the cause of another revelation and a mild law in regard to adultery. She accompanied Muhammad on a campaign against the Banu Mustaliq, but on the last day of the homeward journey, when the army broke camp, early in the morning, she remained behind and arrived at Medina some hours later in charge of Safwan Ibn Muattal, a member of the rear guard. Of course, in the eyes of the public, Ayisha was an adulteress, and even Muhammad doubted her faithfulness. Her excuse was not entirely satisfactory. She declared that when she was about to enter her litter she missed her necklace and went back to look for it. But meantime her camel-driver, who thought that she had entered, fastened the litter as usual on the camel and started off, so that when she came back the litter had disappeared and the troops were so far advanced that she could not overtake them. Muhammad treated her with coldness and indifference during the illness, real or feigned, which followed her return, and even had her taken back to her parents. All Medina was entertained by this adventure, and Muhammad himself, among his friends, made no secret of his doubts of her faithfulness. Yet about a month after the unfortunate occurrence his love for Ayisha and his regard for his oldest and most faithful companion, his father-in-law, Abu Bakr, overcame his feeling of jealousy and revenge. He visited her in her father's house, and, after an epileptic fit, which commonly accompanied a revelation, he pronounced her guiltless. Those who had spoken most severely against his wife were scourged, and this punishment was in future to be inflicted upon anyone who accused another's wife of unfaithfulness without having four trustworthy witnesses to substantiate his charges.[1] Perhaps Muhammad inserted in the Quran only that portion relating to the law of adultery, but not that concerning Ayisha.

XXVIII. *His revelation regarding the wife of his adopted son Zaid.*—His marriage with Zainab, the daughter of Jahsh, called forth a still more important revelation. She had been the wife of his quondam slave and adopted son, Zaid, who divorced her for no reason except that he knew that Muhammad loved her. In

[1] Sura 24:4–6, 11–20.

Muslim eyes this union was doubly blamable. It was not only disgraceful for Muhammad to require, or at least to accept such a sacrifice from Zaid, one of the first and most devoted believers, but also unlawful, because she had been the wife of his adopted son, who, according to Arab custom, was to be regarded as one's own son, whose wife, even after divorce, was forever forbidden to his father, like a real daughter-in-law. In order to defend himself from the reproaches which were hurled at him from all sides, he first, in the name of God, declared the established custom of calling an adopted child *son* to be foolish,[1] and forever afterwards sinful. Therefore Zaid was no longer to be called son of Muhammad, but son of Harith, who was his real father. In another passage he endeavored to show that Zaid divorced his wife without his connivance, indeed against his wish; then he is reminded by God how he, in spite of his love for Zainab, advised Zaid to keep her, and how he even, after the divorce, hesitated to marry her from fear of men until God expressly commanded it, and indeed, firstly, to show that he who acts according to the will of the Lord need not fear people's talk, and then, by his own example, to give more force to the law about adopted sons, a law, he added in order to fully justify himself, which was not new but was already promulgated by earlier prophets, whom, however, he does not mention.

XXIX. *Other similar revelations.*—These revelations are not the only ones which have to do with Muhammad's married life. He had limited the Muslims to four wives apiece, but he himself, partly from passion, partly from policy, exceeded this number. Moreover, he favored one at one time and another at another time, although he had prescribed to the faithful a uniform treatment of their wives. Therefore he brought out a passage in which God permitted him the utmost freedom in this matter.[2] He was also so jealous that he did not allow his wives to go out, permitted them to converse with strangers only from behind a hanging, and forbade them to marry after his death.[3]

However, in order partly to console his wives by making

[1] Sura 33:3, 4, 5, 37.
[2] Sura 33:48 ff.
[3] Sura 33:33, 51.

their lot common to all, women were forbidden to go out without a thick veil or even indoors to appear unveiled before strangers.[1] So the foundation of harem life was laid, the female sex shut out from public life and regarded as an object of suspicion, while among the Bedouins they had enjoyed the greatest honor.

XXX. *The better elements of his character.*—The weakness which Muhammad displayed in his relations to women—and this is amply sufficient to make his prophetic character highly doubtful—is after all the only blemish in his private life known to us. In every other respect he was a pattern of domestic and social virtue. He lived in great simplicity, which at times bordered on want and poverty. He was so unassuming that he not only forbade all outward marks of deference from his companions, but even would not accept any service from his slaves which he could do himself; so that he frequently went to market to buy provisions, prepared them himself, mended his clothes, milked his goats, and even swept out his house. Anyone had easy access to him, and even on the street he listened to each petition. His kindness and generosity knew no bounds, and so, in spite of his large share of plunder, he was always poor, and left only a few *dinars* at his death. His gentleness did not display itself only in regard to the poor, but he sought in every way to comfort all the afflicted. No one was sick in Medina whom he did not visit; no one died whose funeral he did not attend, no one suffered a wrong without his hastening to their help, especially where it was a matter of righting the weak against the strong. In general he was cheerful and careful, but when policy required he could proceed to the greatest atrocities. Not only were individual wrong-doers and active enemies of Islâm condemned to death, but they were even rendered harmless by assassination. Still, considering the length of his rule, there were few such cases. There was a real massacre only in the case of the Banu Quraiza. He was implacable in regard to these people only because they had deserted him in time of danger, had negotiated with the enemy and thereby brought him very near destruction.

[1] Sura 24:31 and 33:59.

XXXI. *An estimate of his character.*—If we consider Muhammad, who proclaimed himself the prophet and apostle of God, to be nothing more than an ordinary Arab chieftain, then in our eyes the spots which we perceive in his life tend to disappear, for they are partly justified by the usages and customs of his time. We would pronounce him a crafty statesman who accomplished great things, partly from love for his people, partly from ambition. We can give him our approval as a *reformer* of Judaism and Christianity, as a civilizer, and as the *preacher* of pure monotheism and of the doctrines of immortality and the judgment, and, considering his many misfortunes at first, we cannot withhold our admiration. But he appears to us as a *prophet* only so long as he was a persecuted man in Mecca. Then seized by religious enthusiasm he might have felt the call to proclaim a new faith, and, in consequence of his bodily infirmity, may have believed that God revealed himself to him by means of angels, visions and dreams. But upon his arrival at Medina self-deception ceased, and at best he could only have justified himself in deceiving others by the maxim "The end justifies the means."[1]

[1] Muir's review of his person and character should be read (pp. 523–536). It also brings out the contrast between his earlier and later life, the light and shade of his domestic relations, the difference between the morally courageous, stedfastly faithful, outspoken, simple-hearted preacher, and the prince who asserted a divine license for many cruel and unworthy actions, the broad distinction between the methods of appeal and persuasion used at Mecca, and the intolerance, fanaticism and force inculcated at Medina. Muir recognizes that Muhammad banished idolatry, made certain ideas of God a living principle in the lives of his followers, and emphasized many social virtues. But these were gained at the cost of three radical evils.—1) Polygamy, divorce and slavery were sanctioned and perpetuated. 2) Toleration, any freedom of thought, was made impossible. 3) There was no chance for growth. Islâm does not pave the way for something better, but prevents progress.

Nöldeke argues that he was certainly a prophet (*i. e.*, one through whom God speaks), proven by the character of the Quran, as well as the thorough confidence of such excellent men as Abu Bakr, and by his constant aggressiveness notwithstanding his natural timidity. A large share of his mistakes should be credited to lack of judgment rather than to evil purpose. Pp. 1–5.

Bible Study in College.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

By Professor George E. MacLean.

In the University of Minnesota, at the present moment, there is but one course in biblical study offered officially. This was given for the first time two years ago, after it had been repeatedly petitioned for by students. The course is entitled The English Bible and Elizabethan Prose. This study is an elective, given once a week throughout the year to Juniors and Seniors. The course consists of a general introduction to the history of the English Bible, with a glance at the general topic of biblical introduction, and the close study of some book of the Bible as a specimen of literature. The class is instructed by the head professor of English.

In the Greek department there is a voluntary class, meeting weekly, for the reading of Greek in the New Testament at sight. It is instructed by Professor Hutchinson, associate professor of Greek. This class does not count at all in the work of the University. It calls for no preparation on the part of the student outside of the hours spent in reading. It reads the New Testament as it reads Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, as history and literature, subject to the same laws of interpretation and criticism. It treats the language of the New Testament as a stage in the life of the Greek tongue under well-defined conditions of time and locality. The instructor is lexicon and grammar for the class,—as far as it needs any,—directing attention wherever needed to the peculiarities of the language as distinguished from the literary Greek of classic times.

The Students' Christian Association of the University has annually a course of six Sunday night lectures by prominent clergymen, college presidents and professors. These lectures are often upon biblical or apologetic subjects. The lectures for 1894 and 1895 are as follows:

Augustine: the Latin Theology, Rev. G. D. Black.

The Moral State of the Church in the First and Second Centuries, Rev. H. M. Simmons.

The Greek Conquest: a Preparation for Christianity, Rev. Edward L. Watson.

Influences which Promoted the Spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire, Professor H. M. Scott.

Louis IX. and the Crusades, Rev. Geo. H. Wells, D.D.

Origen: Greek Theology and Greek Philosophy, Rev. J. H. Tuttle, D.D.

The Young Women's Christian Association, during the past year, had a Saturday afternoon course of Bible study, conducted by President Northrop and the Rev. George R. Merrill, D.D.

The Young Men's Christian Association has forty men in Bible classes for personal workers. Twenty young men from these Bible classes during the winter vacation are engaged in missionary and revival work at different centers throughout the state.

Mention is not made of the various prayer meetings of the religious organizations of the University which are often devoted to Bible readings.

It should be said that University Bible classes, conducted by ministers or professors, are prominent features in the Sunday schools of the various churches near the University.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

By President E. Benj. Andrews, LL.D.

The work done at Brown University in the line of biblical study consists of the following courses:

Four one-term courses in the general reading of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Three one-term courses of critical study in Isaiah.

One one-term course on the Pentateuch, based on the Revised Version of the English text.

One one-term course in Biblical Aramaic.

Three one-term courses in Oriental History, largely biblical.

Three one-term courses in Assyrian and one in Syriac, all largely concerned with biblical matters.

Three one-term courses in New Testament and Modern Greek.

A Bible Class for students, conducted by the president, meets each Sunday morning, in which the International Lessons are critically and practically expounded.

From three to five classes of students, instructed by members of the faculty, meet weekly, for the critical study of the Bible.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

By Professor Herbert B. Adams, Ph.D.

The programme of the Oriental department, under Professor Haupt, included this year the following courses which pertain to the study of the Bible: Lectures on the Prophets of the Old Testament, once a week during the first half of the year, and Lectures upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament, once a week during the remainder of the year. Also a Critical Interpretation of the Book of Ecclesiastes, and elementary and advanced

courses in Hebrew. Instruction was also offered by the department in Post-biblical Hebrew and in the History of the Ancient East.

For many years I have conducted a college course, two hours weekly, on Jewish and Church History. The course is now called the History of Civilization. It involves an historical study of Chaldea as a background for Jewish history, and of Egypt and Phœnicia, as well as of Jewish history proper. Special attention is directed to the study of Hebrew institutions. The students are required to prepare codes or digests of the laws and customs of Hebrew society. The work is a good basis for the study of ancient sociology. Every man reads the historical books of the Old Testament, and cites them as original sources of information, with due regard to their chronology, although in institutional history dates are of minor significance. Jacobs, in his *Studies in Biblical Archæology*, indicates that the higher critics have about fulfilled the possibilities of their investigations, and institutional history now affords more profitable lines of inquiry.

I am informed by C. B. Furst, general secretary of our Johns Hopkins Y. M. C. A., that three Bible classes are already organized in connection with that institution: (1) A Saturday morning class of undergraduates, with a special leader, studying the book of Proverbs. (2) A Sunday morning class of graduates studying 1 John. (3) A Sunday afternoon class of graduates, studying 1 Timothy.

I understand also that small classes for biblical study have been organized in student boarding-houses. The men meet in their own rooms for voluntary class study.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

In the new German translation of the Old Testament, modeled after the New Testament of Weizsäcker, and prepared by eleven leading specialists, and edited by Professor Kautzsch, of Halle, there are a number of valuable appendices which, like the translation itself, represent the best critical results of modern scholarship. Among these is one entitled *Entstehung der israelitischen Litteraturdenkmäler*, in which the chronological order of the various writings and sources now found united in the Old Testament books is given. It is an historical scheme of Old Testament literature largely after the manner of Cornill in his *Einleitung*, and published in the *Student* soon after the publication of the first edition of that book. The present scheme furnishes such an excellent bird's-eye view of the historical unfolding and growth of Israel's literature according to the teachings of currently accepted criticism, that a reproduction of the list is exceedingly instructive and by no means a work of supererogation. It is as follows:

About 1250 B.C.	Judges 5, the so-called Song of Deborah.
	The fable of Jotham, Judges 9:7 *sq.*
About 1005 B.C.	David's lament at the death of Jonathan, 2 Sam. 1:17 *sq.*
About 1000 B.C.	David's lament at the death of Abner, 2 Sam. 3:33 *sq.*
	The Parable of Nathan, 2 Sam. 12:1–4.
About 970 B.C.	Solomon's dedication of the temple, 1 Kings 8:12 *sq.*
	The blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:1–27; the Book of the wars of Jehovah (Num. 21:14); the Book of the Just (Joshua 10:12 *sq.*; 2 Sam. 1:18); the speeches of Balaam, Num. 23 *sq.*
B.C. 933–912.	The (Ephraimitic) hero narratives (H^1 and H) in the Book of Judges, remnants of old heroic narratives, in two strata, an older and a younger.
B.C. 912–911.	The Jerusalem narratives of David's life (Je), 2 Sam. 5–7; 9–20, an old history of David written probably in Jerusalem, at any rate in Judah.
	The narratives of David (Da) in 1 Sam. 16:14 *sq.*, to 1 Kings 2, also a Judaic history of David.
	The narratives of Saul (S) in 1 Sam. 9 *sq.*, an old Judaic or Benjaminitic history of Saul.

B.C. 883–877.	The Book of the Covenant, Ex. 21–23 (*cf.* 24:7); possibly a remnant also in 2 Chron. 17:9, in that case, B.C. 873–849.
B.C. 853–842.	The Jahwistic document in the Pentateuch and Joshua (J); the Ephraimitic narratives (E) in 1 Sam. 4 to 6.
B.C. 814–798.	The (Ephraimitic) Blessing of Moses, Deut. 33.
B.C. 798–743.	Ephraimitic history of Elijah (P) in 1 Kings 17–19; 21; Ephraimitic narratives (E) in 1 Kings 20; 22; 2 Kings 3 (?); 6–10; Ephraimitic prophetic narratives concerning Elisha (P^2) in 2 Kings 2; 4–6; 8; 13.
B.C. 779–740.	Isaiah 15; 16.
	Amos.
	The Elohistic document (E) in the Hexateuch.
	The Ephraimitic histories of Samuel and Saul (SS) in 1 Sam. 8 *sq.*
B.C. 743.	Hosea, son of Beeri (chap. 1–3 according to 1:4 in the time of Jeroboam II., chap. 4–14, in the time of Menahem).
B.C. 743–737.	Beginning of Isaiah's activity, Isaiah 2–5; 6; 17:1–11.
	? Union of the heroic narratives and the histories of the so-called lesser judges (ri) into a pre-Deuteronomic Book of the Judges.
B.C. 735.	Isaiah 1 (?); 7–9:6; 11:1–9.
B.C. 734.	Isaiah 9:7 *sq.*
B.C. 725 ?	Micah 1–3.
B.C. 722.	Isaiah 14:24 *sq.*; 17:12 *sq.*; 28:1–6.
	Isaiah 19 (?).
B.C. 714 ? (704 ?)	Isaiah 10:28 *sq.*; 20.
B.C. 705.	Isaiah 14:29 *sq.*; 18 (?); 28–30.
B.C. 701.	Isaiah 31; 37:22 *sq.*; 1 (?); 22 (?).
B.C. 689–643.	Micah 6:1–7:6.
	Nahum (?).
	Union of J and E in the Hexateuch to JE.
B.C. 640.	Zephaniah 1.
B.C. 628.	Call of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 1).
	Sermons from the time of Josiah (2–6).
	The primitive Deuteronomy.
B.C. 623–610.	Habakkuk.
	Zephaniah 2–3:13.

B.C. 608–597.	Jeremiah's sermons in 7–20 (nearly all), 21:11, *sq.*; 23:9 *sq.* (?); 25 [26]; 45–49 (?).
B.C. 605.	Jer. 11–13:27.
	First edition of the prophecies of Jeremiah written by Baruch, afterwards burned by Jehoiakim, and then restored and enlarged by Jeremiah (Jer. 36).
B.C. 602.	First redaction of the books of the Kings (by Dt).
	Jer. 14:1–17:18; 35.
B.C. 597.	Jer. 22:20 *sq.*
B.C. 597–586.	Jer. 23:1–8; 24; [28; 29]; 27; 30 and 31 (?).
B.C. 593.	Consecration of Ezekiel.
B.C. 588.	[Jer. 21:1–10; 34:8 *sq.*]
	[Jer. 32:1–34:7.]
B.C. 586.	[Jer. 37–43:7.]
	[Jer. 43:8–44:30.]
B.C. 573.	Completion of the Book of Ezekiel (with the exception of 29:17 *sq.*, appended in 571).
	The Lamentations.
	Union of the prophecies of Jeremiah with the history of the prophet, (passages given in [ ] above) into the Book of Jeremiah (by Baruch?).
B.C. 561.	Origin of the present Book of Deuteronomy, by the Deuteronomistic redaction (Dt), probably contemporaneous with the union of JE (in the Hexateuch) with D, as also the Deuteronomistic editing of the Book of Judges (Ri) and of the books of Samuel (Dt) and of Kings (Dt^2) into one large historical work.
	Kernel of the "Law of Holiness" in Lev. 17–26.
B.C. 550. (?)	Isaiah 40–62.
	Isaiah 21:1–10 (?);13:1–14:23; 34; 35.
B.C. 538–521.	Isaiah 63–66.
	Zeph. 3:14 *sq.*
B.C. 520.	Haggai (Sept. to Dec. 520).
	Zechariah 1:1 *sq.* (520); 1:7–6:15 (519); 7–8 (518).
B.C. 500.	Composition of the proper Priest Codex (P) in Babylonia.
B.C. 500 to 459.	Malachi.
	Partial union of the Priest Codex with the Law of Holiness.

B.C. 458 to 446.	The Aramaic source of Ezra (Q^a), Ezra 4–6.
	Ruth.
B.C. 444–431.	Oldest collection of hymns for temple services, Ps. 3–41.
	Ezra's memoirs (E) in Ezra and Nehemiah.
B.C. 432–333.	Obadiah (?), on the basis of an older oracle [vs. 1–9].
	Memoirs of Nehemiah (N) in the Book of Nehemiah.
About 400 B.C.	Completion of the Pentateuch by a union of JE, D, P.
	Final edition of the Book of Proverbs.
	Joel (?).
	Jonah (?).
	At the end of the Persian period, the collection of 2d and 3d books of the Psalms.
B.C. 332–321.	Job (?).
	Song of Songs (?).
	Isaiah 24–27 (?).
	Various additions to the older prophets.
B.C. 311.	Psalms of the Grecian period.
B.C. 301.	The historical work of the Chronicler (Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles).
	Zechariah 9–14 (?).
B.C. 264–248.	Ecclesiastes (?).
B.C. 248.	Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek; about the middle of this century the conclusion of the second or prophetic part of the Canon (nebiim).
B.C. 180.	Composition of Jesus Sirach in Hebrew.
B.C. 164.	The Book of Daniel (probably Jan. 164, or late in 165).
B.C. 153–146.	Esther (?).
B.C. 141.	Compilation of the 4th and 5th Books of the Psalms and completion of the Psalter.
B.C. 135–105.	? The Book of Judith; about 130, translation of Sirach into Greek.
B.C. 90.	1 Book of the Maccabees; and the "Wisdom of Solomon" toward the end of the century.

G. H. S.

Synopses of Important Articles.

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October, 1894, pp. 24–74.

To the average Jewish reader the fourth Gospel is at once harder and easier than the Epistles of Paul. Let a fairly cultivated Jew read the Epistles of Paul and his main sensation will be one of bewilderment; let him read the fourth Gospel, and he will at all events *think* he can understand a fair amount of it. Yet he who would fully understand St. John must understand two of his predecessors. It is true that the Jewish outsider can *partially* understand and *partially* appreciate the fourth Gospel far more readily than he can appreciate and understand St. Paul. And yet *properly* to understand that Gospel you must in the first place understand Paul. And, secondly, to properly understand that Gospel you must be acquainted with, and even understand, Philo.

What then is this Gospel's *religious* value to a Jew? "I *assume* that the main contention of the Gospel—the argument laid down in its opening prologue (1:1–14) and in its closing verse (20:31)—is false; and then I coolly proceed to ask: What is its religious value? To the believer 'infinite'; to the unbeliever 'nil.' Be it frankly admitted that the object of this Gospel is not to teach ethics but that the Eternal and Divine Word became flesh, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, and that he is the way, the truth, and the life, that as Thoma says: 'The doctrine of the fourth Gospel is pure Christology.'"[1]

Few people reading the fourth Gospel through can remain proof to the remarkable fascination. Wherein consist the causes of this fascination?

First comes the *beauty of the manner*, apart from the matter of the book. How delightfully the shortness and pointedness of St. John contrast with the diffuse rhetoric of Philo. Again, the Gospel is almost alone of its kind. Like the prophets, the Psalms, or the Epistles of Paul, it has a uniqueness and isolation of its own.

A cultivated person will be attracted by the *spirituality* of the book, its idealism. It has been the great source for those spiritual antitheses and truths with which mankind is now familiar.

Connected with this spirituality, or only another expression of it, is the *symbolic language* of the Gospel.

Fascinating, still more, is the Gospel in its *mysticism*. To these may be added not only the beautiful use of the ideas of love and sacrifice, but also the fact that the author of the fourth Gospel is a philosopher. The simplicity

[1] Montefiore takes away "the godhead of Christ from the fourth Gospel and then sets out to find the points that are ennobling, beautiful, and true."

of the Gospel is the elaborate simplicity of art. Unconsciously to ourselves we philosophize and this philosophy may truly be called divine. More even than with Plato, we are elevated and carried out of ourselves. In Plato we are invited to side with Socrates. In the fourth Gospel we are invited to side with Christ. The distinction fascinates.

These are partly the causes of its abiding religious value. Nevertheless, emotional fascination is one thing, critical appreciation is another. And upon this a due appraising of the Gospel must largely depend.

The power and influence of true belief are intensely prominent in the fourth Gospel. But here we part company with John, when the latter insists that accuracy of man's belief about God is in itself eternal life, or that the action of God is determined by man's belief. Man's belief depends largely upon his moral state, his prior or present ethical condition. A scamp may believe, but he cannot realize; his belief is verbal, not based upon experience and feeling. We must reject the Gospel's dualism and its identification of the good man and the believer, and yet they are easier to understand when we bear in mind the conditions under which the Gospel arose.

The Gospel assumes to give a new revelation of God in his own nature and in his relation to man, and yet there is very little in the Gospel to make good its claims. The fourth Gospel is immensely behind the synoptic Gospels. The theory of the Logos does not really *harmonize* the dual aspects of the divine nature, it merely expresses them more clearly. To the outsider (the non-Christian) the Logos theory of the fourth Gospel has no more value than that of the Logos of Philo. He cannot accept a human relationship between the two aspects of the one God, and therefore the love of the Father to the Son and that of the Son to the Father is for him meaningless. The incarnation of one particular aspect in the person of Christ is something mechanical, sensuous, spasmodic, magical. In the relation of the Evangelist's Logos to man and of man to the Logos, we see the intense Johannine dualism. Only those that are potentially good, and their number is few, are saved. More than the children of God are the children of the devil. For these no salvation is possible. The fourth Gospel knows nothing of repentance, such as the synoptists' Jesus teaches. The word μετάνοια is not found in it. The unbeliever's end is not eternal punishment, but sheer annihilation. St. John's is the thought-out dualism of the philosopher.

Philo's dualism is less sharply defined, less consistent, less irreversible. He finds a place for repentance. The intense dualism of the fourth Gospel is finally and consummately revealed in the seventeenth chapter, where Christ is made to say: I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me. How different the Jesus of the synoptists! The love enjoined by the famous "new commandment" of St. John is restricted to fellows in faith. Is love restricted by race more objectionable than love restricted by creed? How more humane and yet divine the Jesus of the synoptists! This dualism cannot be justified by the environment and age in which the author lived, as is

done by Thoma,[1] and even by Martineau, who speaks of the "inevitable but im perfect dualism forced upon human thought by the contrasts of experience."[2]

One of the best features of the Gospel is its *universalism*. On this point the author is no inept disciple of Paul, and yet there are a number of points relative to the moral and religious condition of the world before and at the advent of Christ left obscure. This great religious theory is not as it should be in its teaching, co-extensive with the world it seeks to interpret. It not only does not satisfactorily explain the facts of history and human nature, but even ignores them.

One point that must greatly be objected to is *predetermination*. In most higher religions the attainment of the best life depends on two main elements, a moral and a religious; in other words eternal life is partly won by works and partly by faith. First of importance is the *ethical* element, and although the religious belief may and will affect the one, yet primary of the two is morality. The fourth Gospel though recognizing these two elements places the emphasis on faith rather than on morality; through religion to morality, rather than through morality to religion is the tendency of the Gospel.

Now what reason has the Evangelist to say that the unbeliever is morally bad?

It is true the Gospel and yet more definite, the first epistle also teach morality as the condition precedent of faith, and these give it value to the outsider as well as to the insider. But here neither stops; both have led the way to the dangerous doctrine that unbelief is necessarily as much moral as intellectual. The unbeliever is a sinner. These doctrines, beautiful in themselves, have bred many a fanatic and called forth much cruelty and crime, just as the doctrine "God is love" rather than "God is goodness" has stained the religion of Christ by so many sins and cruelties committed in his name. The Gospel undoubtedly maintains that moral evil is the root of unbelief. Again, the author of the first Epistle of St. John truly impresses upon his readers the importance of morality; but even with him the element of faith frequently predominates the element of morality. The doctrine: that the Christian sin, but it is a "sin not unto death," *i. e.*, apostasy, makes intellectual sin more impardonable than moral sin. Much grievous evil has this doctrine worked in the history of the world.

Although it cannot be denied that ethical element enters in its composition, yet the ethics of the fourth Gospel is its least original part. If you subtract all that seems a reproduction of Paul and all that seems a reproduction of Philo, you have little left that is at once admirable and new. And yet there is not only spirituality of religion, but also a certain ethical elevation in both Gospel and Epistle, a morality exhibited in self-sacrifice and devotion. The one positive moral command of the Johannine Christ is that contained in the word ἀγάπη. But this love is mere reciprocal. It is restricted to the fellow disciple and is thus in sharp and violent contrast to the bidding of the synop-

[1] *Die Genesis des Johannes Evangeliums*, 1882, p. 283.

[2] *Seat of Authority*, p. 493.

tic Jesus. Particularism of race is exchanged for the new and more dangerous particularism of creed. That is no new command (John 13:34), which does not go beyond the old (Leviticus 19:18). Christianity has too closely followed the Christ of the fourth Gospel rather than the Christ of the first Gospel (Matt. 5:17 and 44).

Yet even in this application of the "new yet old commandment" the dualism is preserved unto the end. By what force is this love for one another to be set in motion, stimulated and maintained? Here we come to the great and distinctive ethical motive characteristic of the fourth Gospel. The love of man is conditioned by the love of man for Christ and of Christ for man. The element most prominent in God's, or rather Christ's love for man is "sacrifice." The Christian loves God the more because he thinks he sacrificed himself. But this argument appears to assimilate the divine and the human nature too closely.

The fourth Gospel's conceptions of human and divine love are, happily, partially modified in the first Epistle. Thus the markedly mediatorial position of the Son. In the Epistle the relation of man to God is more immediate, more sympathetic with the Jewish point of view, because it is essentially *Jewish*.

Again, the doctrine of the mystic relation of God and man is intensely narrow, because restricted to the Christian believer, as he is defined by John. It is true there is an undoubted one-sidedness in "moralism," but it is not religiously so dangerous as the one-sidedness of "intellectualism" and "mysticism" as taught in the fourth Gospel.

The *unio mystica*, that happy union of Greek and Hebrew thought as exemplified in the Johannine Gospel, does by no means owe its existence to Jesus Christ; it is taught in the Old Testament, and, though lost sight of by later Judaism, it has again been revived in modern Jewish thought and life. It may be a central truth of the fourth Gospel of perennial value, but it existed among the men who wrote the Psalter, and *mirabile dictu*, it existed among the men who wrote the Talmud. And the teaching of the fourth Gospel, first, that only a select number of men possess this affinity, and secondly, that the sense of it was never wakened and the power of it never realized before the teaching of Christ, or since his advent by unbelievers, is wholly and radically wrong.

To the Jew, the outsider, a work of great genius such as the fourth Gospel must always be suggestive, helpful, stimulating.

I feel inclined to ask in conclusion whether there is anything in these selected excellencies of the Johannine writings which is not in full accord with Judaism, or which is out of harmony with the main drift and current of its teaching. The answer, I believe, is "*None*."

Added to the article is a criticism upon it by some friendly hand, through which the article passed in proof, and which, from a Christian point of view, seems not only interesting and suggestive, but at the same time cogent. W. M.-A.

Notes and Opinions.

The Oral Theory of the Synoptic Problem.—It is a very true word that Rev. Arthur Wright, A.M., speaks at the opening of his article on this subject in the *Thinker* for February: "St. Paul's Epistles engrossed the attention of biblical students of the last generation. Old Testament criticism is the pursuit of the present. The Gospels remain for the future. They are unquestionably the most important of the three subjects." He then goes on to argue, as he never tires, and never ought to tire, of doing, for the oral hypothesis of the origin of the Gospels. An unusual reading of the preface to Luke's Gospels is given when he says: "It is often assumed that St. Luke asserts in the preface to his Gospel that he had read and was making use of those narratives which 'many' of his contemporaries had 'undertaken to draw up.' It seems to me that his language, when carefully examined, decidedly favors the opposite conclusion. He asserts that both they and he derived their information through tradition handed down by the regular catechists from the original eye-witnesses. He does not affirm that his precursors had actually published anything, but rather implies that they undertook the task of writing, and abandoned it." The power of the memory to retain extensive material, when employed as it was in the first century of our era, is well shown. "The fashion of the day," he says, "was to store the memory. There was an unreasoning prejudice against religious books. 'Commit nothing to writing' was a maxim of the Rabbis. Neither St. Peter nor his fellows had any literary instincts. Believing that the end of the age was at hand, they had no sense of duty to posterity." He then illustrates from the present Orient the use of oral transmission. From a Buddhist Catechism he cites the fact that their holy books were handed down orally from generation to generation. He quotes also from a paper by Professor Max Müller, who says: "At a time when writing did not exist, the human memory was infinitely superior to what it is now. People could remember an enormous amount of what we call poetry, and even prose. . . . I have had people in this room who knew by heart the whole of the Rig-Veda, which consists of more than a thousand hymns of about ten lines each, and who could take it up at any point. That is not at all an uncommon thing among educated men in India." And Archdeacon Monk, of Mid-China, is cited as reporting a school at Ning-po to which orphans are taken when ten years old. He there discovered that "the children knew the whole of the four Gospels by heart. They could be put on anywhere, and would go straight away, the beginning, middle or end of a chapter, or at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse. And it was no mere parrot-learning. They could explain in their way what they had been taught." And Mr. Wright argues:

"These examples, which I could easily multiply, will show that the memory is capable of the work which I have attributed to it, and that the men of that time and century would be likely to make use of it. But if teaching was to be carried into distant lands, a band of teachers must have been prepared and sent forth, taking St. Peter's Memoirs with them. These, I maintain, were the catechists, about whose existence and work so much incredulity has been expressed in certain quarters."

The Purpose of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel.—Some two years ago Professor Harnack published in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* an article advocating the theory that the prologue to the Gospel of John is not a key to the understanding of the book in the sense that it summarizes its main ideas, but is a section prefixed to explain to Hellenistic readers that the Logos of current philosophy and the Jesus Christ of history were identical. This is, according to Harnack, the writer's contribution to the Christological problem of his time. Harnack has recently found a confirmation of this theory in the writings of Julian the Apostate. This ancient exponent of Christianity argues (contra Christum *passim*) that John alone of all the Old and New Testament writers is responsible for the doctrine of the only-begotten Son of God, who is preëxistent and the agent of creation. Harnack (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* V. i.) sums up the essential points of Julian's argument as follows: (1) Julian recognizes that the Logos of John's Gospel is not an allegory, but a distinct person, who is eternal and second God; also that Jesus, only-begotten Son, and Logos refer to the same being, and that to see the Logos is as much as to see God the Father. (2) That Julian uses without distinction the language of the prologue and of the Nicene creed, with these qualifications, that he cannot find in the prologue the doctrine of the "Mother of God," nor is the teaching that "without *Jesus Christ* nothing came into being" clearly avowed, though it is insidiously implied. (3) That John is solely responsible for the deification of Jesus. (4) The prologue was written for Gentile-Christians, at a time when they were already numerous, (*a*) to give instruction adapted to them, (*b*) to prevent the suppression or perversion of the worship of Jesus. For the Gentile-Christians were already paying high honors to the graves of the apostolic martyrs and heroes. As to the structure of the prologue,—and here is the point of contact with Harnack,—Julian represents it as a drama with a climax, which is carefully prepared for and is reached in verse 17, where the God-Logos is revealed as Jesus Christ. The Evangelist saves himself from blasphemy in the prologue, by the remark, inconsistent with what he has said before, that "no one has seen God at any time."

This interpretation and criticism of the prologue, Harnack says, doubtless came to Julian out of the Neo-Platonism of the third century. At least enough hints of such an interpretation are extant to make it reasonably evident that it was not original with Julian but had some currency in the early church.

Harnack himself regards Julian's view that the purpose of the prologue to check the tendency among Gentile-Christians to worship the deceased apostles and martyrs as false and absurd, as also Julian's theory that the deification of Jesus is insidiously and surreptitiously introduced in the prologue. But he thinks that Julian was quite competent to form an intelligent opinion on the question of the literary purpose and structure of a Greek philosophico-theological production such as the prologue is, and congratulates himself on finding in so ancient a source a confirmation of his own independently suggested theory.

The Doctrine of the Trinity.—Professor L. L. Paine was led to his study of Athanasianism (which appeared in the *New World* for December, 1894,) by a conviction that the Trinitarians and the Unitarians of New England are gradually drawing together. An evidence of this growing harmony is found in the answer of Dr. Bartol to one who asked him if God exists in three persons. "Yes," he said, "and in all other persons. We are all Athanasians." A better evidence than this pleasantry of Dr. Bartol's is found in the statement of Dr. Hedge that the Nicene Council, by "its homoousian doctrine," began "a new era in human thought," and that the doctrine contains the essential truth. There is no doubt a revival of Nicene thought among the Trinitarian Congregationalists of New England, and of Hegelian thought, with its endless trinities, among the Unitarians. But it remains to be seen whether these two revivals constitute a doctrinal approach of parties separated so long so radically. Professor Paine, however, believes that a harmony may soon be established, and writes to aid it. Athanasianism, he says, is not what many of the theologians of New England suppose it to be. They suppose it to be the doctrine that the Father and Son (and by implication the Spirit, though not much is said in the Nicene Creed about the last) exist in one numerical substance or essence. But Athanasius and the other Nicene Fathers did not hold that the three exist in one numerical substance or essence. They thought of the persons as being one only because they consist of the same kind of substance, as three human beings are of one substance in this sense. Yet they rejected Tritheism with horror, and saved themselves from it by teaching that, while the three persons are of one kind of substance, and very God, the Son and the Spirit are in some degree subordinate to the Father, who is God in the absolute sense of the word. The doctrine of the numerical unity of the three persons of the Godhead was established by Augustine, who did not know Greek well, and who misunderstood the Nicene Creed and those who made it. Such, for substance, is the view of Professor Paine.

If this view of Athanasianism could be sustained, the proof would probably do but little to bring the Trinitarians and the Unitarians together. The Trinitarians base their doctrine on Scripture and Christian experience, and are interested in the Nicene Creed chiefly because it seems to them an admirable expression of what they find in both; while the interest of the Unita-

rians in the Hegelian trinities is chiefly philosophical. But I do not think that Professor Paine has at all made good his contention. One has only to open the pages of Athanasius for one's self to see that this great leader believed in the numerical unity of the substance of the Father and Son. The question is not, How many meanings has the word "homoousios?" The question is, What is Athanasianism? The question is not, What interpretation did Eusebius and the Semi-Arians put on the Nicene Creed? The question is, What interpretation did the Nicene Fathers themselves put upon it? That Athanasianism as thus defined is the doctrine of the Father and Son existing in the one numerical substance of the Godhead, is evident on almost every page of the *De Decretis*, to go no farther. Take a few sentences: "The Bishops said that the Word must be described as the true Power and Image of the Father, in all things exact, and like the Father, and as unalterable, and as always, and as in him without division." "Bodies which are like each other may be separated and become at distances from each other, as are human sons relatively to their parents; but since the generation of the Son from the Father is not according to the nature of men, and not only like, but inseparable from the essence of the Father, and he and the Father are one, as he has said himself, and the Word is ever in the Father and the Father in the Word, therefore the Council, understanding this, suitably wrote 'one in essence.'" "'I and the Father are one,' and, 'I in the Father and the Father in me,' is equivalent to saying, 'I am from the Father, and inseparable from him.'" "As the words 'Offspring' and 'Son' bear, and are meant to bear no human sense, but one suitable to God, in like manner when we hear the phrase 'one in essence,' let us not fall upon human senses and imagine partitions and divisions of the Godhead, but as having our thoughts directed to things immaterial, let us preserve undivided the oneness of nature." Such passages abound in Athanasius, and leave no room for doubt as to his position. Augustine swept away the slight shadow of subordinationism which clung to the doctrine of the Trinity as stated by the Nicene Fathers; but the numerical unity of the substance of the Father and the Son was as clear to them as to him.

F. J.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters.—The following topics for Chapter-meetings during April are suggested. Care should be taken to select for each meeting such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching different sides of the subject. Not more than five topics and a map drill should be upon any one programme:

1. The triumphal entry. Its relation to prophecy and to the time in which it occurred; its significance to Jesus, to his followers, and to his persecutors.

2. Jesus' power over external nature. A study of the different manifestations of it, especially with reference to the object of each such manifestation.

3. A study of the questions put to Jesus on the occasion of his last visits to the temple, and of his answers to these questions.

4. A presentation of all the statements of Jesus concerning the authority upon which he spoke and acted.

5. A presentation of all the statements of Jesus concerning the universality of his Messiahship.

6. The prophecies of Jesus concerning the fall of Jerusalem, and the fulfilment of these prophecies as recorded in profane history.

7. The character of Judas Iscariot.

8. The occurrences at the Last Supper; their significance to the disciples who were present, and to the church today.

9. The teachings of Jesus concerning the Fatherhood of God, (*a*) as touching himself, (*b*) as concerning those who should identify themselves with his cause.

10. The arrest, trial and condemnation of Jesus, (*a*) from the point of view of its legality, (*b*) from the point of view of the Jewish leaders, (*c*) from the point of view of the Christian today.

11. The events of the Passion week from the point of view of the disciples of Jesus.

12. Pontius Pilate: a character study.

13. The death and burial of Jesus; a circumstantial account.

14. The sayings of Jesus upon the cross. What were they? What light do they throw upon his mission?

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

Preparation for the summer schools of the Institute are rapidly nearing completion.

At Chautauqua, N. Y., the following courses will be offered: Beginning and advanced courses in Hebrew under the direction of Professor D. A. McClenahan of the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa., and Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale University. Professor Revere F. Weidner of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Chicago, and Professor Rush Rhees of Newton Theological Institution will offer courses in New Testament Greek. In the schools of the English Bible the courses will center about Old Testament History and Prophecy. Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago, and Professor Sanders will teach a daily class in Old Testament History. Professor Rhees will conduct work in the Teachings of Jesus in Relation to his Times, and Professor Weidner will discuss the Old Testament in the New, basing his work upon the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Twelve studies in the Psalms will be given by Professor William R. Harper, and, in addition, Professor Harper will deliver six Sunday morning lectures upon Moses, Samuel, David, Isaiah, the Prophet of the Captivity, the Prophet of the Restoration. The session will open July 6 and close August 16.

Courses in the English Bible and in the original tongues will be offered at the Chautauqua Assembly at Winfield, Kans., by the Rev. H. L. Willett of the University of Chicago; at Ottawa, Kans., by Dr. Chas. F. Kent of the University of Chicago; at Lakeside, Ohio, by Professor Lincoln Hulley of Bucknell University; at Lake Madison, S. D., by the Rev. A. L. Parke of Atlanta, Ga. The Assemblies on the Pacific Coast, at Bay View, Mich., Monteagle, Tenn., Clear Lake, Iowa, Ocean Grove, N. J., Waterloo, Iowa, and Silver Lake, N. Y., have not definitely arranged their plans, but announcements concerning these will be made later.

Three Australian Colonies report fourteen hundred students at work in the Outline Bible Club Course. This number so far exceeds the expectations of the leaders in the work in Australia that the supply of instruction papers ordered by them has been exhausted, and it has been necessary to reprint them in Australia. This department shows, by the above addition, a working membership of about thirty-seven hundred.

Work and Workers.

Professor G. H. Schodde, of Columbus, Ohio, declined a call to the Presidency of Martin Luther College, Rochester, N. Y.

The Rev. Alexander McKenzie declined an appointment to the Bartlett Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary.

Josiah H. Penniman, Ph.D., has been elected to the Professorship of Liturgics and English Biblical Literature in the Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The fourth part of the Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint* has appeared. There remain two parts to complete the work. The publishers are the Clarendon Press, Oxford (Macmillan).

Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, Bart., G.C. B., died in London, March 5, at the age of eighty-five years. He contributed much to historical knowledge by his interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions and his researches.

The Superintendent of the Oxford University Press reports that the sales of the Revised Version of the English Bible, which for a time after its introduction fell off considerably, have again revived, and that there is a good demand for it.

The programme for the coming session of the Catholic Summer School, which opens July 7, will include a course of eight lectures upon Sacred Scripture in the Light of the recent Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., a course of five lectures upon Christian Archæology, and also five upon the Formation and Life of the Early Church.

Rev. R. H. Charles, of Exeter College, Oxford, the author of the recent excellent work on the Book of Enoch, is engaged in the preparation of a text and translation of two others of the Pseudepigrapha, the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. He has also been commissioned to write several articles on these and other apocryphal books for the great biblical dictionaries at present being prepared.

John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, died at his home in Louisville, Ky, Saturday, March 16. Dr. Broadus was sixty-eight years of age, and had been Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary since 1859. He was widely known both in the North and in the South as a preacher and as a scholar. We expect soon to publish a more extended account of his life and work.

THE three Bible Societies of England, Scotland and this country have issued a miniature Gospel of St. John in Japanese for the use of the troops. The book is only two and three-fourths by one and seven-eighths inches, has a guarding-flap, and is on extremely thin paper, but clear and readable. One thinks (of course inappropriately) of the tithing of mint, anise and cummin, with the leaving undone of the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith.

BIBLICAL and Divinity Courses are to be offered at The University of Chicago throughout the Summer Quarter of the present year. Work is offered in the Semitic Languages, in Biblical Greek, in Textual Criticism, in Patristics, Church History and Apologetics. The faculty will include not only nearly all the members of the regular staff, but special lecturers from Europe and America. Among these latter are Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D., of Glasgow, Professor Caspar René Gregory, Theol. D., LL.D., of Leipzig, Principal A, M. Fairbairn, D.D., of Oxford, and President D. B. Purinton, LL.D., of Denison University, Ohio.

THROUGH the negotiations of the Rev. Charles Kelley, ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference in England, Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston has acquired one of the most extensive and valuable Methodist libraries in the world. The library is a private one and is the result of over one hundred years' collection by the ancestors of the owners. It comprises three thousand volumes, embracing Methodist authors and all books written against Methodism. There are also busts and paintings of the prominent early Methodists. The library will arrive in Evanston in June and will be added to the library already occupying quarters in Memorial Hall.

THE American Bible Society sold in Brazil during 1893 about 15,000 Bibles, Testaments and portions, including 4848 complete Bibles. The price of these volumes varied from 5 cts. to $1.25, and the entire proceeds from sales were over $4000, less than 30 cents a volume on the average. The principle that copies of the Bible should be sold rather than given away has been indorsed by Bible societies and missionary societies the world over. But it is the custom to place such a price upon the Scriptures that they shall be within the reach of all classes of people, irrespective of the actual cost of publishing them, any deficit being made up by the societies.

IT is reported that President Thwing of the Western Reserve University, at Cleveland, O., is arranging for a summer school of theology, July 1–9. It will be modeled after the Oxford School of Theology of last summer. Among the lecturers will be Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford, who was at the head of the Oxford summer school, and who will lecture every day. Among the others who will give lectures are President A. H. Strong, D.D., of Rochester Theological Seminary, Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, Ph.D., of Union Theological Seminary, Rev. Dr. B. W. Bacon, of Oswego, and Rev.

Dr. George A. Gordon of the Old South Church, Boston. Single lectures are expected from Bishop Leonard of Ohio, Rev. D. N. Beach of Cambridge, and Rev. Dr. Russel B. Pope.

THE *People's Pictorial Bible History*, which has been in preparation under the editorship of Rev. Dr. Geo. C. Lorimer, of Boston, is nearing completion. A large number of famous scholars and ministers have contributed to it. Mr. Gladstone writes the introduction, and Professor Sayce contributes a special introduction to the Old Testament literature and history. Among other contributors are Archdeacon Farrar, J. Monro Gibson, Dr. George F. Pentecost, Edward Everett Hale, Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus, Dr. R. S. MacArthur, Professor William Cleaver Wilkinson, Professor Caspar René Gregory. The whole period of Bible history is to be covered, and the work will contain many fine illustrations.

THE following opinion concerning the injustice of Jesus' trial appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* recently: "Aside from everything else the trial of Jesus, from a lawyer's point of view and from the rules of Jewish tribunals, was illegal. No accuser presented himself; the judge himself took the office in utter violation of all propriety. Witnesses against the prisoner alone appeared and were eagerly brought forward by the judge; but not a single witness in his defense was called, and no Baal-Rib — counsel — was appointed, nor were any facilities provided, or even the possibility offered for his calling witnesses in his favor. The court from the first sought to condemn, which is contrary to all jurisprudence."

THE ninth session of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research was held in the Library of Memorial Hall, at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, on the afternoon and evening of March 16. The programme of the meeting was as follows: The Use by Jesus of the Book of Proverbs, by Professor Charles F. Kent, Ph.D., The University of Chicago; The Term Son of Man as used in the Book of Enoch and in the New Testament, by Professor Charles F. Bradley, D.D., Garrett Biblical Institute; Quotations in the First Gospel Introduced by the Formula "In order that it might be fulfilled," Professor Ernest D. Burton, The University of Chicago; The Plan and Scope of the Apocalypse, Professor M. S. Terry, D.D., Garrett Biblical Institute.

THE next numbers of the *Studia Sinaitica* will be:— Part V. The *Anaphora Pilati*, in Syriac and Arabic, the Arabic transcribed by J. Rendel Harris, and the Arabic by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, with translations; also a short and early form of the *Recognitions of Clement*, in Arabic, transcribed and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson. Part VI. *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, as written over the Syriac Gospels by John the Recluse of Beth-Mari Kaddisha in A. D. 778. No. I. will contain the stories of Eugenia, of Mary who was surnamed Marinus, of Onesima, and of Euphrosyne, transcribed and translated by Agnes Smith Lewis. These very entertaining tales throw

a vivid light on the character of monastic life in its prime, and were apparently the favorite reading of the Syriac monks who once formed part of the community on Mount Sinai.

PROFESSOR JAMES ROBINSON BOISE, Ph.D., LL.D., D.D., died at his home in Chicago, February 9, at the age of eighty. Professor Boise was for more than thirty-five years a teacher of classical Greek, serving successively in Brown University, the University of Michigan, and the old University of Chicago. This long period in the department of classical Greek was followed by fifteen years spent in teaching New Testament Greek in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park. On the establishment of the present University of Chicago Professor Boise was made Professor-emeritus of Biblical Greek. By his teaching and by his text-books he exerted a most marked and beneficent influence on the classical scholarship of America, especially in the middle West. We hope soon to publish a fuller account of his work and character by one who was first his pupil and then a colleague.

A SUMMER school for clergy is to be held at Oxford, England, the coming season, extending through two weeks, July 15–27. The programme for the first week, as announced, consists of five lectures by Dr. Bright on Certain Periods of Church History, five lectures by Rev. J. R. Illingworth on Christian Ethics, and five lectures by Rev. R. L. Ottley on The Messianic Hope and Belief in a Future Life, in the Psalms and Prophets. For the second week the list is more varied: Three lectures by the Bishop of Colombo on Christianity and Other Religions, three lectures by the Dean of Christ Church on The Pastoral Epistles, five lectures by Rev. Chas. Gore on The Atonement, two lectures by Dr. Sanday on The Jewish Background of Our Lord's Ministry, and three lectures by Dr. Wace on Christian Apologetics. These courses will be given at regular morning hours, while in the afternoon and evening one or more lectures are to be given by Dr. Moore on Dante as a Religious Teacher, by Rev. F. J. Chavasse on Preaching, by Rev. G. H. Gwilliam on the New Syriac Gospels, by Rev. A. F. W. Ingram on Parochial Missions, by Rev. A. T. Lyttleton on Browning as a Religious Teacher, and others not yet certainly arranged for.

ANOTHER *Concordance to the Greek New Testament* will be welcomed by everyone who works in that field of study. Many have been looking forward to the publication of such a work by someone, somewhere, and now it is arranged for, indeed it is partly done. The first part (four in all) is promised within a few months. The editors are Professor Wm. F. Moulton, D.D., of Cambridge, the author of the English edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, and Professor Alfred S. Geden, A.M., of Wesleyan College. The publishers are George Bell and Sons, London (represented in this country by Macmillan & Co.). The need for this work is so well known that it hardly needs

description. The only comprehensive New Testament Greek concordance that we have at present is Bruder's, a work based upon the Textus Receptus, imperfectly and incompletely revised in its edition of 1888 to embody the readings of the Tregelles and Westcott and Hort texts. These defects seriously detract from its value and very greatly increase the labor of using it for accurate work. The thing, therefore, to be desired is a concordance to the text of the New Testament as exhibited in modern critical editions. Such is the character of this new work. It will embody the readings of the texts of Westcott and Hort, of Tischendorf (VIII.), and of the English revisers. The first named is taken as the standard, and their marginal readings have in all cases been included. The utmost care is being taken to secure perfect accuracy, and the method pursued precludes the omission of any word or phrase which, by even a remote probability, might be regarded as forming part of the true text of the New Testament. The citation of each passage, altogether too brief in Bruder's Concordance, is so extended in this work as to secure grammatical completeness. Small numerals are used to classify and indicate to the eye noteworthy usages or constructions. An asterisk and dagger are employed to show that a particular word is not met with in the Septuagint or in classical Greek respectively. The Hebrew text has been added of passages quoted from the Old Testament, and occasionally also the text of the Septuagint. The entire book will contain 700 or 800 pages. Advance subscriptions are solicited at the price of 21s. net, bound in cloth, or the four parts unbound at 18s., in either case prepaid. The specimen page which is sent out shows that the volume will be almost exactly the size and shape of Thayer's *New Testament Lexicon*, and this could not be improved. In three respects we think the typography of the page open to criticism: the index words through the page should be in a bold-face, upright letter, as is used, but in *lower case*, not in capitals, because the capitals are too uniform in appearance and too uncommon for reading at a glance. The Hatch-Redpath Concordance saw the desirability of this, but used too small a letter. Further, the reference letters and figures are too large for the Greek letter used. The Bruder type was better in this respect, a clear, *condensed* face. There is no uniform indention as there should be, either of chapter and verse numbers or of the citations. As it is, the columns look very ragged. And, lastly, the abbreviations of the names of the New Testament books are not uniform nor always desirable. In one column we find Lu. for Luke, in the other column it is Luc. And why not Mt. and Mk. for Matthew and Mark respectively, for instance, since the greatest brevity consistent with clearness is to be sought? Moreover, why mix up the English, Latin and Greek names of the books in the abbreviations, *e.g.*, "Acts," "Jac." for James, and "Apoc" (which is neither the English, nor the Latin, nor the Greek name) for the Revelation? Either the Greek or English names should be used throughout, preferably the English names. But of course these are minor matters. Let the book be issued as soon as practicable.

Book Reviews.

Ezechiel-Studien. Von Dr. David Heinrich Müller, Ordinary Professor an der Universität Wien.

The first of these studies, which are five in number, offers a few suggestions about the origin and interpretation of the vision of the chariot. Like the vision of Isaiah, by which it has been plainly influenced, it is dependent on the vision of Micaiah ben Imla (1 Kings 22:19). It was the Israelitish seer at the court of Ahab who first beheld God as a king seated on his throne with his court around him. The chariot as described in chapters 1–3, came not from the mountain of the gods in the north, as is now usually supposed, but from the temple in Jerusalem. The variations characteristic of the second phase of the vision (chapters 8–11) are partly due to the prophet's desire to correct and explain, and partly to the altered position in which the chariot is seen. The second study, "the sending of the prophet" calls attention to the frequent recurrence in Hebrew literature of the thought that the prophet is sent of God. So Jeremiah (1:7), Isaiah (6:8), Samuel (1 Sam. 16:1), Gideon (Judges 6:14), Moses (Exodus 3:10). This stereotyped phraseology, it is thought, may throw light on the difficult words (3:6). Professor Müller translates: "If I had not sent thee unto them they would obey thee;" and he supposes the meaning to be that Ezekiel's mission as a prophet would prevent a favorable reception on the part of Israel. The third study is a clever and interesting attempt to show that chapters 3, 18 and 33 supply an example of the artistic elaboration of an idea. The figure of the watchman on the tower, for instance, is wrought out from a meager outline (in 3) into a finished portrait (in 33). The fourth study endeavors to trace a prophetic scheme in several of the individual prophecies; and the fifth points out several curious parallels between Hebrew and cuneiform literature. Although some of the facts adduced by Professor Müller hardly seem to warrant the conclusions drawn from them, for instance the parallel between Gideon and Moses and the passages quoted from the Assyrian inscriptions, these learned and suggestive "Studies" are an acceptable addition to Old Testament literature.

W. Taylor Smith.

Studien zum Buche Tobit. Von Dr. M. Rosenmann.

The composition of this interesting and valuable Jewish tale is dated by the author of these studies as early as the second century B. C. The reasons assigned in support of this view and against the theories of Grätz, Rosenthal, Neubauer and others which put the work after the commencement of the

Christian era, are chiefly the following: (1) The representation of the marriage of relatives as a religious duty at the time to which the story refers. Some passages are cited from the Talmud and the early Midrash *Sifra* which seem to show that not only in the Talmudic age but for some time before the fall of the second temple this duty was not recognized. The suggestion is cautiously hazarded that the writer may have intended to break a lance in behalf of the vanishing custom which he may have believed to be obligatory on all ages. (2) The argument strongly urged by Schürer that the writer of Tobit cannot have been acquainted with the temple as restored by Herod (See text A xiv. 5*b*.). He was familiar with a temple, but with one conspicuous for its inferiority. "A glorious building" was a hope of the future, not a fact of the present. (3) The description of Noah as an eminently good man fits in with the ideas expressed in the Book of Jubilees and Ecclesiasticus, whereas the Rabbis regarded this patriarch with but little favor, ascribing his deliverance solely to the divine grace. (4) The mention of a dog as the attendant of Tobias is thought to point to an age strongly affected by Greek influence rather than to the Talmudic period when the keeping of dogs by Jews was discouraged by their religious leaders. (5) The urgent warning against the intermarriage of Jews and Gentiles would have been unnecessary, it is argued, had the book been the product of Rabbinic times. (6) A Talmudic writer, it is affirmed, would have given the number of Sarah's deceased husbands as three not as seven. The Rabbis forbade a widow to marry again more than two or three times. (7) The absence of any reference to the Messiah or the doctrine of the resurrection is considered unfavorable to the origin of the work in the Talmudic schools. These arguments would have been more effective had they been grouped together. As it is they are scattered about the pamphlet so that their collective significance is not apparent. Taken together they constitute a strong case in favor of a pre-Christian date. They hardly prove as early a period as that recommended. As regards the two Greek texts usually referred to as A and B, Rosenmann agrees with Nöldeke, Fritzsche, and König in assigning priority to A. The pamphlet has been carelessly printed, as the list of errata contains nineteen mistakes, rather a large number for forty-one pages. W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Last of the Prophets. A study of the life, teaching and character of John the Baptist. By REV. J. FEATHER. [Handbooks for Bible classes and private students.] Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. Price, 80c.

The biography of John the Baptist is so hopelessly in obscurity that one can venture to write a sketch which in greater part must be only more or less suggestive. For a sketch of his life before his public appearance, which the imagination of one will create, can hardly expect completely to commend itself to the mind of another. But there appears to be no reason against using

the material in hand in order to discover back in the periods of boyhood and desert-obscurity the roots of his public life and teaching. This the volume under review has in its first half endeavored to do. The author emphasizes the historical and social factors which were present in the life of every Jewish boy at that time. But in doing this he has rather obscured the character of John, basing his conjectures prevailingly on history rather than on the hints which the peculiar nature of John affords. One must raise the question whether this tendency has not made that part of the book more hazy than it ought to be and John's nature less characteristic than it evidently was. It is a question, too, whether much that is conjectured of John's early life does not fail wholly to blend with what is afterwards known of him. In the discussion of John's public life the author grasps the unity of his teaching and treats it all in the light of John's conception of the Kingdom of God. But even here the treatment seems to lack in clearness. In fact, a comprehensive criticism of the book is that it is more rhetorical than scientific and dispassionate, and therein lies its deficiency. Its leading, which is at times fascinating, does not always lead the reader into light. But the book is very readable and helpful, and if it does not always satisfy it very often suggests and stimulates thought.

C. E. W.

The Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures. By REV. J. R. B. WALKER. Based on the Authorized Version. With an introduction by M. C. Hazard, Ph.D. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society: 1894. Octavo. Pages 980. $2.00.

This work is an attempt to supply the need of a concordance more complete and more accurate than Cruden's and its various revisions and abridgments, without exceeding the limits of a compact and convenient octavo. It is an independent work, based on the English Bible itself and not a revision of any existing concordance. It contains fifty thousand more references than Cruden's "Complete," besides thousands more where unessential words have been superseded by more important ones. Unlike Dr. Strong's monumental work, also published last year, it does not lay claim to absolute completeness, but only to a practical completeness as regards words which one would ever use in the search for a text. This claim would seem to be justified by a practical test. A considerable number of passages were taken at random from the Old and New Testaments and each verse was found by means of the Concordance under not less than four and sometimes as many as thirteen different words, the average being six. It would thus seem that the book is sufficiently complete for all practical purposes as a "text-finder," which is all it claims to be. Indeed, it may be questioned whether some words of little importance might not be omitted altogether without loss to the student. It is difficult to see, for example, on what principle of selection such a word as "but" is given for seventeen passages and omitted for hundreds of others where it is used in the same way. Unlike the usage of Young's Analytical and similar works

each word is found in its own order without reference to the corresponding word in the original Hebrew or Greek, and derived forms are arranged alphabetically rather than under their primary or root forms. Whatever loss this may be for certain purposes, it is undoubtedly a gain in what professes to be a concordance simply. To save space in quotations, words occurring many times are classified according to their connection with other words, rather than given in their natural order, *e. g.*, a verse containing the word "people" may not perhaps be found under that word but under some expression like All people, All the people, Among the people, Before the people, People of God, His people, People of the land, and so forth. While this arrangement facilitates the finding of a word, by one familiar with the method, it is confusing to one who uses the book only occasionally.

In a hundred references two incorrect ones were found. A fuller examination would be necessary as a basis for judgment upon the general accuracy of the work.

An interesting and valuable feature of the book is the Bibliography in the Introduction. This is much more than a bare list of concordances, but is rather a historical survey of concordance making, from the first Latin concordance in the thirteenth century to the present time. It includes Latin, Greek and Hebrew concordances and those of the principal modern versions as well as those in English. To the last named division alone nine pages are devoted.

C. E. C.

Defense of the Christian Faith. By PROFESSOR F. GODET; translated by W. H. Lyttelton, A.M., Rector of Hagley and Canon of Gloucester. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1895. $1.75.

Books on apologetics have played an important part in the history of the church. Infidelity and rationalism are constantly shifting the ground of attack on Christianity, hence many books of the past on "The Evidences" are practically worthless, because they are not up to the needs of the times.

Professor Godet's book is fully abreast of modern thought, and by its broad scholarship, logical argument, and suggestive treatment of the subjects of modern apologetics supplies a felt need to the student and minister.

The book consists of seven lectures, which while lacking a unity of treatment are yet separately of great importance.

The mention of them will suffice to show the author's comprehensive treatment of the subject.

I. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.
II. The Hypothesis of Visions.
III. The Miracles of Jesus Christ.
IV. The Supernatural.
V. The Perfect Holiness of Jesus Christ.
VI. The Divinity of Jesus Christ.
VII. The Immortality of the Apostolic Gospel.

In the first three lectures the author has carefully treated the well-known arguments for the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ, but adduces nothing new; in the last four lectures, however, his treatment is fresh and stimulating to thought—that on the supernatural is very suggestive; he shows how the intervention of God in the history of the world is conceivable, and proves historically and scientifically such intervention, and from his facts shows the element of the supernatural in the history of humanity. Many striking passages might be selected from these lectures; one must suffice.

"He (God) elevated him (man) into the same sphere of moral life in which he himself moves, Thus soar in a region above the blind domain of matter and its laws these two supernatural beings, the one relatively supernatural, who gradually gets himself free from nature, as a child does from his cradle; the other absolutely supernatural, out-topping Nature by the whole height of his spiritual being. . . . Man lifts his head above Nature and discovers and recognizes God, the supernatural in him springs upward toward that from which it derives its being, joins itself to the supernatural which is divine, and enters into an indissoluble treaty of union with it."

On the whole, the book is well written and is undoubtedly a contribution to the study of apologetics. The translation is clear, epigrammatic and worthy of praise. H. F. M.

The Religions of Japan. By W. E. GRIFFIS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

Two classes of readers will find great satisfaction in this work. First those who have hitherto inquired in vain for an account of the religions of that marvelous people now occupying the front of the world's stage; and second those possessed by the new and pregnant notion that religion, like all other human activities, will be studied imperfectly and inconclusively until studied comparatively. The former class will find gathered here in one compendious form matter from scores of monographs recently contributed by specialists in Japan, but the existence of which is hardly known outside. For the latter class we venture to predict nothing short of surprise as they find how religious movements supposed peculiar to Europe have occurred also and usually previously in Asia.

The religions to be considered are Shinto—Japan's ethnic faith—, Confucianism and Buddhism, each and all as unmistakably Japanese as are the language and art of Japan. Under Shinto are passed in review phallicism, —a phase of religion utterly strange to most readers—, ancestor worship, nature worship, and last that arrest of development which has preserved Shinto so perfectly for the hierologist to study today.

Under Confucianism the familiar "five relations" of society come in for review, of course, and are very significantly contrasted with their Christian analogues. The superiority of Christianity easily appears at each count, though here no doubt estimates of the real state of morality in Japan will differ

considerably. The reviewer's experience there leads him to an estimate below the undoubted maximum of Sir Edwin Arnold's rhapsodies, but also somewhat above that here presented by Dr. Griffis. Japan will probably be heard from ere long, and America may expect to have its little foibles shown up in their true hideousness.

Equally interesting are the revelations here made of Japanese Buddhism, revelations not of infamy, but of incontestable merit. Incontestable, that is, by us Christians, for here appear duplicates, not only of Romanism — which will surprise none of us — but of Protestantism, which is quite another thing. Not that Buddhism has not practiced its favorite and questionable methods in its Japanese propaganda, beginning namely in the court and capturing the commonalty by easy identification of aboriginal deities as temporary incarnations of various Buddhas; but that Buddhism supplied the Japanese with religious ideals before Christianity had won a foothold in the extreme East, and has formed the basis of Japanese civilization as admired today. Very instructive is the account given of the Buddhist sects, some dozen in all, that have flourished on Japanese soil. Nearly half have perished, but the others enjoy hale old age, while one seems not incapable of prolonging life indefinitely, just because susceptible of progress even on Christian lines. This is the large and influential Shin sect, whose founder in 1203 A. D. promulgated doctrines of justification by faith alone with morality as its proof, instantaneous conversion and sanctification, home and foreign missions, and rejected all monasticism, penances, pilgrimages and amulets. Shinran Shonin, like a later — no, an earlier—Luther, married a noble lady, and thus replaced monkish seclusion with family life.

Another purely Japanese sect, the Nichiren, approximates in doctrine and ritual to Romanism, nor does it fail in pretension to exclusive privileges, as appeared in the warning against all other sects it forwarded to the Parliament of Religions. One is then prepared to learn that of all sects its people are the most ignorant. Hardly less interesting are the imported sects, the Tendai, the Shingon, and the Zen.

Some mistakes in details occur which will no doubt be corrected for a future edition. We venture to propose for such issue a different disposal of the excellent excerpts found at the beginning of each chapter. The value of these would be much increased were each inserted into its proper context. The reader cannot appreciate the bearing of these quotations until he has gained the general notions involved, but while doing this he forgets the quotations. Would not also the historic perspective be improved by treating Buddhism before Confucianism?

The highest profit derivable from this treatise can be secured only by previous study of Indian and Chinese Buddhism, which may to this end be best done by a perusal of Sir Monier William's *Buddhism* and Dr. Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*.

E. B.

The Trial and Death of Jesus Christ: A Devotional History of our Lord's Passion. By JAMES STALKER, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894. Pp. xv.+321.

With the sketch of the *Life of Jesus Christ* which Dr. Stalker published some years ago the religious world has become quite generally familiar. From the first it was regarded as a remarkable piece of work, in that it gave in so very brief and compressed a form so clear, bright, graphic and true a view of Jesus' earthly career. In the preparation of that small volume the author felt the inadequacy of the space which could be allotted to the closing passages of Christ's public ministry, the Passion so-called. A cherished desire to treat those passages with greater fullness is realized in this new volume. The limits of our Lord's Passion are taken as beginning with his arrest at the Garden of Gethsemane and ending with his burial. The twenty-three chapters treat in detail all of the incidents recorded in the four Gospels as falling between these two events, in the order in which they are supposed to have occurred.

Dr. Stalker in the sub-title calls his book a "Devotional History," and he explains in the Preface what he means by this description: "The subject is one which has to be studied with the heart as well as with the head." Well, is there any study of the Bible (or, for that matter, of anything else) which requires simply the head, from which the heart, *i. e.* the religious sense and feeling, may be excused as irrelevant? Perhaps Dr. Stalker means to designate his work as a practical-religious study as contrasted with an historico-critical study of Jesus' trial and death. It is the former, it is not the latter. No questions pertaining to the genuineness or authenticity of the material at any point are raised, and views contrary to those of the writer are seldom discussed. He simply gives us his understanding of each of the various incidents which make up the history. And his understanding of the history is such as commends itself almost without exception to the reader.

His treatment of the arrest is excellent. The dignity and self-possession of Jesus, and the temporary consternation of the mob which it caused; the constituency of the mob, and the action of Judas, are well portrayed. The cowardice attributed to the apostles is perhaps overdone. The ecclesiastical trial has three steps, a hearing before Annas, then before an informal meeting of the Sanhedrim, then before a formal meeting of the Sanhedrim after daybreak. The condemnation was illegally and unjustly passed. Pilate's part in the trial and his portion of the responsibility for the crucifixion are well described and weighed. Judas' character and guilt are portrayed at length, and with justice. The place of the crucifixion is not even referred to, the time is said be about noon. The seven words from the cross each receive a chapter of exposition. The fourth ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"), difficult as it is, is treated with deep spiritual insight and a firm grasp of the historical and theological problems involved.

The book is full of preaching — the drawing out of practical applications and of likenesses and contrasts to present-day life. The book reads in many places as though composed of sermons actually delivered. This will render it acceptable to a certain large class of readers, and on the other hand unattractive to those who desire an historical rather than a practical study. *Explicit* preaching is very abundant, to many it is so as to become tiresome; *implicit* preaching is becoming increasingly the only form with which a large and important element of humanity can be reached. Thinking men are often quite as able to preach to themselves as the professional preacher, and perhaps also quite as faithful in doing so. Capable men are coming to ask for the facts only, feeling themselves best fitted to draw lessons therefrom for themselves.

Dr. Stalker doubtless intended this book, as he has his previous ones, for the general lay reader, unembarrassed by any historico-critical problems. The Sunday School world, is perhaps, the best characterization of this public. Waiving the large homiletical element, enormously larger than in his previous historical writings, the work compares favorably with his other earlier ones.

C. W. V.

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JOHN ALBERT BROADUS.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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THE PROBLEM OF PROPHECY

To SUM up the essential elements of Old Testament prophecy and its significance seems a superfluous task, so fully has the subject been discussed from all sides and in all lights. Yet views upon these points have never been more varying than today. Agreement upon even a few fundamental positions can hardly be secured. Apparently we are far from the last word. New points of view from which the Bible as a whole is regarded place prophecy in a different light and cause its message to be read in ways quite opposed to those which have been commonly accepted among us. Can anything be regarded as settled with respect to its character and meaning? What is a reasonable view in the light of all the facts?

A MODERN EXTREME

ADVOCATES of the historical method of biblical investigation find that its application to this field is productive of strikingly surprising results. There is no doubt that much of what has been done by them is permanently valuable. But the tendency to over-emphasize certain phenomena and to neglect others which do not yield so readily to their method of treatment or their preconceptions has led one school of historical interpreters of prophecy into extreme positions. (1) They cannot permit the prophet to see ahead of his own time. They minimize the predictive element almost to the point of extinguishing it. The prophetical activity is limited to the confines of the prophet's life and age. His interests are correspondingly narrowed. He is a statesman, a hero, a religious

teacher and reformer, but he is not allowed to look over the barrier and proclaim the message of things to come. (2) Not that he is denied the power of insight and a rare sagacity with respect to the outcome of affairs and tendencies. But this gift is purely natural. The special activity of God is excluded and his personal influence upon the seer is rejected. The element of special divine miraculous energy in the prophetic life is eliminated or so conceived as to reduce it to its lowest terms.

THE ANCIENT EXTREME

Doubtless these scholars have been affected in their tendencies and conclusions, not only by method and presuppositions, but also by the influence of reaction from the opposite extreme. This extreme position on the other side, which has dominated multitudes of students and still holds sway in many quarters, is quite unhistorical and unnatural in its conception of prophecy. Its favorite notions may be summed up as (1) the assumption that prophecy is all prediction. The relation of the seer to his own time is insignificant. The present is merely the material background on which the real scene is painted, and that scene is in other respects quite disconnected with that present. The prophet is an incomprehensible person to his own countrymen in his day. His oracles have reference to future ages. The faithful treasure them up and hand them down until the times of their fulfilment approach. Some of these oracles have not yet obtained any satisfactory meaning, for the ages of which they treat are as yet too far in the future to enable even a hint of their significance to be obtained. The student of prophecy is a student of sacred enigmas or rebuses, the clue to which must be found in the solutions which have already been gained and in the signs of the present or future. (2) As prophecy is all prediction, so the presence and energy of the divine in prophetic life is all-comprehensive. The supernatural overpowers the natural. The prophet is an instrument through whom God speaks words the meaning of which the human speaker does not comprehend. He is a mechanism played upon by Jehovah, who thus discloses his supremacy over man and reveals truths which only thus could be made known, whose meaning only after-generations can

know. Emphasis is laid on the unnatural states of mind and body in which the prophetic messages are received, and upon the extravagances of expression in symbolic action and figurative or dark language appearing in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. All indicate that prophecy is a divine phenomenon in which the human, the natural, plays the most insignificant part—only that part which is absolutely necessary.

THE fault of these views is not in their facts, but in the extremes to which they go in applying their inferences from the facts. Here, as everywhere, truth must be sought in patient collection and honest recognition of all facts, in fair and guarded inferences from them. Both views are overstatements of separate truths, partial recognitions of the fullness of that which is contained in prophecy and the prophetic life. Were we, indeed, constrained to accept one of these views we should not hesitate to recognize the latter as more true. In a somewhat modified form, it has for ages satisfied the mass of Christians as being the most acceptable view so far attained, the most in accord with the Spirit of Truth energizing in the church. The Christian student will never be content with any explanation which shuts the divine out of the Sacred History, which minimizes God to magnify man. But, not being bound to either, we accept the partial truth of both. The prophet was a normal human being, while he was also inspired of Jehovah. He was a preacher of truth, while he was also a revealer of things hidden. The one sphere does not exclude the other. Rightly regarded, the one involves the other.

THE TRUTH IN BOTH EXTREMES

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(1) IT is impossible to study the beginnings of prophecy in Israel without recognizing the close relation of the prophet to the events and tendencies of his own day. The career of Samuel is in this respect convincing. In Samuel were exhibited the fundamental principles which characterized the prophetic order. It began in him and continued after him to be primarily concerned with the affairs of the Hebrew state. He selected the first king; he instructed the king in the true principles of government; he

THE PROPHET'S OUTWARD LOOK

was the adviser and the critic of the royal activities and purposes. Those who followed him continued the tradition. The greatest of the prophets were interested first of all in the national life. The prophetic order was a bulwark of the state. The peculiar task of prophecy in the state was to represent Jehovah. The prophet was the organ of divine communication to the king and people, regarded as a national organism. He was not merely a general adviser on all occasions and concerns. The same person might, indeed, combine prophetic activity with general advisory activity. But the prophetic function was a distinct and separate one from the beginning—to stand for Jehovah's presence, interest and authority in the national life.

Thus the institution of prophecy made the nation of Israel a peculiar nation. Hebrew prophecy has no parallel among ancient institutions, as has, therefore, the Hebrew nation no parallel among the nations of antiquity. Samuel, when he founded the monarchy, as Moses, the earlier and greater prophet, when he established the nation, made it a divinely directed state with its chief purpose the development of the authority of Jehovah in the earth, guided and controlled in a peculiar manner to the bringing in of the kingdom of God. It was prophecy that wrought this work, it was the prophet, energizing among his countrymen, who represented and forwarded the successive steps in its accomplishment.

THE PROPHET'S INWARD LOOK

(2) PROPHECY was thus active in the outward life of Israel, as the representative of Jehovah, because of a deeper inward fact. The prophet was conscious of a peculiar personal relation to Jehovah. He recognized himself as specially selected of Jehovah for this special office—to receive the divine communications to the nation at first hand and proclaim them to their destined recipients. These teachers stood apart from other men in this exalted characteristic; not that God did not speak to others, but that for the Hebrew nation his distinguishing organ of communication was the prophetic order. Moreover, a more or less intimate and regular relation to Jehovah was thus established for the prophets which likewise separated them from other men.

This intimate, personal, constant communication with the

divine mind and will, while it had its basis outwardly in their national position, wrought in them and impressed upon their declarations the breadth and universal power which characterizes their marvelous writings. They become more than guides of their nation in particular crises, more than men of their own time. They have come into contact with universal principles of truth and goodness and righteousness. They bring to bear upon the national needs and experiences lessons of unlimited significance. They are teachers of universal truth. Contact with the one God has brought unity into their spiritual firmament—unity in essence in the midst of infinite variety of presentation and application.

THE PROPHET'S FORWARD LOOK

(3) SPEAKING to the Israel of their own age along lines of universal divine truth, with the immediate inspiration of the Divine Spirit, the prophets were also seers with a vision of things to come. Prediction is an essential element of Hebrew prophecy. Lacking prediction prophecy in Israel would be self-stultifying. This predictive element seems to take two forms. Primarily and chiefly the prophet's forward look is taken with reference to the national life of his own epoch. Future disaster is painted in order to repentance today. Coming blessing in after ages brings with it hope and encouragement for the present hour of darkness. Both punishment and reward are described in language which the prophet and his hearers can comprehend, if they cannot altogether understand its details.

But there is also prediction in which immediate effect seems to be subordinate. The prophet takes the divine point of view, beholds events from Heaven's side, sweeps over history under the guidance of Jehovah, and by the insight of clarified spiritual vision reveals the outcome of forces whose play is but dimly revealed to the ordinary soul. Especially along the one supreme line of vision is this spectacle disclosed—the characteristics, principles, progress and future triumph of the kingdom of God. Here, in some of the so-called Messianic prophecies, is what might be reasonably denominated pure prediction, where at least the immediate and temporary reference is secondary, and the future and universal significance predominant.

WHETHER looking outward, inward, or forward, prophecy has as its primary and distinguishing characteristic, therefore, a divine element. The prophet brings God's message to his age. The truths enunciated are divinely disclosed. The prospect unveiled is from the point of view of revelation. The writings of these men are dominated by their consciousness of Jehovah. The title which most truly describes the prophet is "man of God." If prophecy be not in this sense a supernatural phenomenon, there is nothing supernatural in biblical life and history. If it is not divine, then the prophets were deceived or deceivers, and the world's most precious springs of truth have risen out of a contaminated source.

THE PROPHET ESSENTIALLY A MAN OF GOD

PROPHECY in the sense thus defined has left a very broad mark upon biblical literature. It spoke through the mouths of its great representatives like Isaiah and Jeremiah whose utterances constitute some of the most precious pages of the Old Testament. It wrote down its messages,—as when the great prophet of the exile sent out his words of encouragement and warning to his waiting countrymen. It acted out in visible symbol the experiences which the nation was about to undergo,—and the picture abides in the narratives of Hosea and Ezekiel. It taught the lessons which Jehovah had sought to impress in the national life, by its faithful portrayal of the history of the past from the point of view of the divine purpose in its bestowal of blessing or punishment. The Old Testament histories are prophecies from the hearts of men to whom the divine insight into the meaning of that history had been vouchsafed. The prophet joined hands with the priest in the Book of Deuteronomy; with the "wise man," in the Book of Job; with the lyrist, in the prophetic Psalms. On beyond the Old Testament into the pages of the New his influence is perceived. The vindication of the prophet of Israel is found in the Messianic presence and preaching of the apostolic age. Thus the whole Bible, instinct with prophetic teaching, is newly significant—a message for the present, a body of truth for all time, a foregleam of the eternal future.

THE PROPHETIC IN BIBLICAL LITERATURE

JOHN ALBERT BROADUS.

THE SCHOLAR, THE PREACHER, THE TEACHER, THE MAN OF AFFAIRS, THE MAN, THE CHRISTIAN.

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Dr. Broadus, while still living, enjoyed a reputation both wide and high. High *enough*, for it could hardly have been imagined higher, but, though wide, not so wide as he deserved. His posthumous fame is certain to be lasting, for it has solid foundations in personal merit of the rarest quality, safely immortal in achievement, not commensurate indeed, but at least exquisitely fit and correspondent. The fine effect of personality, so apt to be volatile and fugacious, perishing with the man, or at least with the living memory of the man, is, in his case, fixed to a perpetuity of "life beyond life" through books surviving him, which, to a remarkable degree, retain secure the spirit, the genius, the refined quintessence, of the intimate character of their author.

Dr. Broadus had what has been memorably called "the genius to be loved." This trait in him was partly no doubt a precious gift of nature, but it was, as the present writer fully believes, in still greater part an attainment of culture. A yet truer account of it would be rendered, if we should use the old language — which it is a pity to surrender as worn out — and call it a fruit of grace. Dr. Broadus was eminently, singularly, a "gracious" person. This character of him was so dominant, it enforced itself so, and this without obtrusion, upon the wise observer, that it is difficult not to speak of it at once in speaking of Dr. Broadus. But we here thus anticipate.

Dr. Broadus was a Southerner in every sense of loyalty to the local and social environment and tradition in which he was born and in which he lived his whole life. But he had a large

mind and a large heart, and he was a truly national man. Indeed even national is a term not broad enough; for Dr. Broadus was world-wide, was œcumenical, in his intelligence, his comprehension and his sympathy. This, however, in no lax Goethean sense; rather in that Christian, that Pauline sense, which admits of a genuine, a fervid, a vicarious-spirited patriotism coëxisting. We do not naturally associate the idea of exact painstaking scholarship with our conception of the Southern character, even in the highly cultivated type of that character. But Dr. Broadus was a scholar in the severest sense of the word. In the department of New Testament textual criticism, he may be pronounced an authority. His commentary on Matthew is an indestructible monument to his just fame as a thoroughly furnished scholar and exegete. This work is destined to hold its rank as one among these commentaries which, like Dr. Hackett's on the Acts, enjoy both a permanent and a universal fame with New Testament scholars. It would be a mistake, however, so to say this, as to leave the inference possible that Dr. Broadus's com mentary is not in the noblest sense popular too, at the same time that it is scholarly.

Dr. Broadus's scholarship was not a thing detached or detachable from the man himself. It entered into and qualified his personal character. He was thus not a scholar simply in his closet and in his books. He carried his scholarship about with him. It was minted coin at his command, ready for circulation. Not that he was in the least a pedant. Nothing could be a greater misconception than to think this of Dr. Broadus. But when in conversation a point, for instance, of New Testament interpretation incidentally came up, Dr. Broadus's part in the discussion would show that he had considered the point, had learned and had weighed the reasons, on this side and on that, had made up his mind and was prepared to state his result. Not at all in the spirit of the Abbé Vertot's *Mon siège est fait*, but in the character of a man whose scholarship was of himself, and not simply of the student poring over his books. It was another distinguished New Testament scholar and teacher, a man very different from Dr. Broadus, who, to a request from the present

writer for his opinion on a certain point (which must have been scores of times passed under review by him in the class-room) could be brought to make no reply whatever except that he should wish to look it up. This also perhaps was very fine; but it was so in a way quite contrasted with Dr. Broadus's.

It was as it were only incidental that Dr. Broadus's scholarship was of the Bible chiefly, and especially of the New Testament. I say "*as it were* incidental;" for, though his aptitudes for scholarship would have served him equally well in whatever sphere, his profoundest personal bias bent him irresistibly as a scholar toward the Bible. That same personal bias also made him a preacher.

There are, in the whole history of the Christian church, few examples of the union of strict scholarship with genial popular eloquence in the pulpit justly to be paralleled with that subsisting in Dr. Broadus. Dr. Maclaren comes near being such an example. He perhaps equals Dr. Broadus in scholarship; but, although, by the joint test of quantity and of quality in printed homiletic production, greatly superior to Dr. Broadus, as indeed, I am convinced, not inferior to any preacher, of any race, in any age, Dr. Maclaren, as a preacher *in the pulpit*, has by no means the charm and the power that were the gift and acquirement of Dr. Broadus. If Dr. Broadus had given himself, with the same approach to exclusiveness that Dr. Maclaren has done, to the work of the preacher, and if the outward conditions of life in his case had equally favored, the result of production in print might have been fully comparable, both in quantity and in quality, with that of the famous Scotchman. But the brilliancy of immediate effect in usefulness and in fame due to mere eloquence in the pulpit, would certainly have been far greater for Dr. Broadus. For he had, beyond his British compeer, the proper and distinctive oratoric endowment. If Dr. Broadus, supposed running a career exclusively of the pulpit, might justly have been judged liable to lose something from the preacher's power by diversion to the pastor's office—and toward such diversion his naturally ministering heart and conscience would no doubt irresistibly have inclined him—the loss so suffered would have been more than

made up by the emotion, the "unction," to resume once more an expressive old word, that would thence have been derived to qualify his sermons.

The two functions, that of preaching and that of teaching, were inextricably intertwined with each other in the practice of Dr. Broadus. He taught when he preached, and he preached when he taught. Generally speaking, one would not recommend that preaching should be permitted to intermingle itself with teaching. But Dr. Broadus's case was fairly an exception. He could do whatever he pleased. "Be wise, and do as you will," the celebrated maxim of Augustine could be modified to read, in adaptation to suit the practice of Dr. Broadus. But Augustine's saying need not at all be changed. It might remain, "Love and do as you will;" so much was Dr. Broadus's wisdom a wisdom of love. His instinct, whether as preacher or as teacher, was a conscious, an instructed, instinct. He knew why he did as he did. He was as wise in the philosophy of his work, as he was intuitively skillful in the work itself. No one can attentively read his treatise on the "Preparation and Delivery of Sermons," without seeing that this is so. His own incomparable art of preaching is therein adequately set forth in theory. "Sympathy" was his master secret. 'Get the sympathy of your hearers. Re-inforce yourself with their good-will. Nothing is gained with them till this is gained.' Such in effect was his instruction; and such was his own practice. He glided into the good-will of an audience with a seductiveness that not so much overcame resistance, as cheated resistance. But all was absolute sincerity. He won good-will by showing good-will; and the good-will that he showed, he had. There was no pretense, no affectation, no effusiveness. But before you knew it, your capture was complete. Indeed you probably never did know it at all. The capture was *too* complete for that. And true capture it was. It was not capitulation to you, in order to apparent captivation of you. This winning man, after he got you under his spell, would make you hear what he wished to tell you, not simply what you wished to have told.

It was a rare felicity that so consummately good a preacher

was an equally good teacher of preaching; that he could impart the theory as well as practice the art. Dr. Broadus's "Preparation and Delivery of Sermons" is, on the whole, the best single treatise existing on its subject. This judgment is one neither hastily formed nor extravagantly expressed. It is a conviction arrived at after long and careful comparative consideration, on the present writer's part, of all the principal works in any language that could be regarded as rival claimants for the praise thus bestowed.

Such a book as Dr. Broadus's on sacred rhetoric could have been produced only by a man who was himself both a preacher and a professional teacher of preaching. The author of that book in fact taught many successive classes of students the art of pulpit eloquence from the professor's chair. He also taught thus New Testament interpretation. A fruit not yet mentioned here of this latter teaching, was a carefully studied and scholarlike Harmony of the Gospels — a work of such value that no student of the New Testament desiring to be thorough can afford to neglect it.

Of Dr. Broadus, as a teacher by his books, I have said these things. As a teacher in the class-room, I have it to regret that I never enjoyed personal opportunity to observe Dr. Broadus.

This scholar, preacher, teacher, was a man of affairs. He could bring things to pass. He knew how to organize and to administer. Underneath that suave, that gracious manner, there resided a potent aggressive, executive force. It happened once to the writer of this notice to see a striking display of the quality in Dr. Broadus thus described. The occasion was not public, but private — personal in fact to the one who makes the present note of it. A certain practical end of much temporary importance, not to Dr. Broadus, but to his friend, was depending. The altruism, the generosity, with which Dr. Broadus gave himself to the securing of this end, was to have been calculated on; but the energy, the vehemence, exhibited in the effort was a true surprise. That observation and experience of mine profoundly and permanently modified my conception of Dr. Broadus's character. It was more easy afterward to understand the triumph over

adverse conditions achieved by this noble and strenuous spirit in his career, first as professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and then as president of that institution.

Besides the reserve of personal force at Dr. Broadus's command for the conduct of affairs, he had a rich store of the most various worldly wisdom (always without guile), a worldly wisdom partly intuitive, but partly acquired. I doubt if his generation included any man wiser than he. To be praised for wisdom by a man himself so wise, was honor indeed; and when Mr. John D. Rockefeller was publicly pronounced by Dr. Broadus to be, in his opinion, one of the wisest men living, I felt that the force of eulogy could hardly further go. And the eulogy was as deliberate as it was sincere.

Whatever Dr. Broadus became by specializing himself, whether he was scholar, preacher, teacher, or organizer and administrator, it was always the *man* behind the specialist that made the peculiar value of what he was. It was a case of character, still more than of capacity. The capacity, of course, did not lack; it was abundant in volume and in variety. But it was at bottom a moral, more than a mental, power and virtue that distinguished Dr. Broadus from his fellows. Indeed, I think it might be truly said that the clear moral quality in him actually—and by "actually" I mean in fact and not simply in effect—increased and purified his intellectual faculties. He was mentally wiser, because he was morally so clear. His exquisite candor, for example, which was not mere cold candor, but warm, vital sympathy, enabled him to see things far more truly as they were, because he saw them in a white light supplied from within himself. The sympathy which his candor was, not only did not disqualify him for seeing the truth, but it helped him see it by quickening his vision with pulses from the heart. Dr. Broadus was naturally, I think, a very proud, that is, a very high-spirited, man. There could not be a wider mistake than to conceive the meekness and modesty of his disposition and demeanor as due to any want on his part of a sensitive honor, a just self-respect. He was proudly and nobly jealous for his own native South; and to me it was a fit and a beautiful thing to behold the fine fidelity to what he conceived to be the

fair claims of his section, with which he always performed his office of reconciler between the two mutually estranged parts of his one beloved country. He made no unmanly obeisances. He stood straight before his countrymen of the North, while he stretched out sincere hands of proffered fraternal fellowship to them. It was a splendid, it was better, it was a persuasive and ennobling, exhibition of manhood.

We should be doing Dr. Broadus the one wrong which of all possible wrongs he would himself most reproachfully regret, not to recognize and proclaim that what in him as man was thus worthy of praise, belonged to him in his quality as Christian. His noblest virtues were not native fruit, but grafted. The original stock was good, that is, comparatively good; but it was the scions implanted that bore that rare and that ample fruitage of refined and beautiful character which we admired in Dr. Broadus. I never knew any other man of whom this seemed to me quite so manifestly, so strikingly, so, may I say it? blazingly, dazzlingly true, as it seemed to me in Dr. Broadus's case. It may be unconscious transference, on my part, from the man to his books, but I imagine that I feel in a degree the same effect, when I read even, for example, his commentary on Matthew. Take the following passage, extracted from what he says on the precept "Resist not him that is evil:"

"To resist, to resent, to punish, whether in national or individual affairs, is not necessarily and inherently sinful, but is useful, when properly regulated, to society, and even to the wrong-doer himself; and so it is sometimes a duty to punish, even when we should prefer to do otherwise. But to resist or resent in a passionate and revengeful spirit is deeply sinful, and a sin to which men are so strongly inclined that it ought to be guarded against with the utmost care. And yet many professing Christians, not only act when excited, but deliberately and habitually avow their intention to act, in the way which is here so pointedly condemned — more sensitive to what the world calls insult and dishonor, than to the teachings of infinite wisdom, the solemn commands of the Divine Redeemer. O, cowardly audacity! afraid to incur the world's petty frown, and not afraid to displease God!"

How the impulse of the preacher breaks into the course of the teaching here! But who would have it otherwise? There is nothing perfunctory, nothing merely customary, professional, in the homiletic digression. It was not the specialist that spoke; it was the man; but above all it was the Christian. We need to remember how naturally high-spirited the Southern-bred writer was, in order to appreciate at its value such passionate enforcement, proceeding from him, of the Christian duty of meekness. But observe the absence of strain, of excess, in the doctrine. Wise concession is made in favor of sternness exercised when just occasion requires sternness. The emphasis however is left to rest, finally and decisively, on the unworldly, the high, the difficult, the Christian virtue, grace rather, of meekness, Those who truly knew Dr. Broadus in his personal character, will easily find that character deeply illustrated in this single passage of his writing. It is noteworthy that, although the plan of the commentary provides a place for what is "Practical and Homiletical," under that express title, the remarks above quoted occur, not in a part so designated, but in the course of general exposition. It belonged to the intimate character of the Christian that Dr. Broadus was, to be everywhere and always overmasteringly intent on increasing the sum of the authentic spirit of Christ in the world. That motive makes itself felt pervasively — not obtrusively, but pervasively — in all the product of his pen. The Christian in him summed up the scholar, the preacher, the teacher, the man of affairs, the man.

It would be in a true accord with the character and career of the subject of this paper, if the paper itself should subordinate its memorial purpose to the practical use of contributing something to the end for which Dr. Broadus's exemplary life was lived. The present writer would himself feel, and he would, if he could, have every reader feel, that the achievement here celebrated was real achievement, and not a mere easy felicity of nature. Dr. Broadus *became* what he was; became it, because, first, he had a peculiarly fine and high conception of the demand made by Christ upon the Christian, and because, secondly, he put forth peculiarly ardent and peculiarly constant and sustained

conscious effort to answer fully the demand thus transcendently conceived. His method was the simple method, the humble method, of obedience. Christ was literally his Master. He sought to bring every thought of his mind, every feeling of his heart, every word of his mouth, every deed of his hand, captive to the obedience of Christ. The result was what we saw in Dr. Broadus. It was not a goodness and a beauty to excite our admiration and despair. It was a goodness and a beauty to excite us to admire, and to emulate, with hope. But we should not wisely admire, we should not fruitfully emulate, if we fixed our eyes only on the result that he achieved, and failed to observe the method that he pursued in achieving it.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

I. The Criticism of the Gospel.

By Shailer Mathews.[1]

Authorship and date.— Sources.— The author's point of view.— Literary characteristics with especial reference to vocabulary, grammatical forms, changes, and variant style.

The purpose of this and the following paper is to present some of the most important characteristics of the Gospel of Luke considered as an historical rather than a biographical or theological source. It is hoped that the two papers may prove not only the summary but the guide of inductive study.

1. *Authorship and time of composition.*—The Gospel gives us as the only datum for determining its author, the dedication to Theophilus. As the book of Acts is similarly dedicated by the writer of "a former treatise," it is generally and correctly supposed that the author of the two books was the same. The writings of the early church, as well as the internal evidence of Acts, point to Luke, the companion of Paul, as this author.

The time of the composition of the Gospel is difficult to determine. As will appear presently, it was written subsequently to Mark, and from its specific references to the destruction of Jerusalem (19:43, 44; 21:24) it may have been written after 70 A. D. But the exact date is beyond discovery. From 21:32 it is at least possible that it was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem.

2. *The sources of the Gospel.*—Both external and internal evidence is overwhelmingly against Luke's having been an eyewitness of Christ's life. His work, therefore, must have been based upon older accounts. But we are not left here to conjecture, as we have the testimony of Luke himself. The preface of the

[1] Much of the material for these two papers was furnished by the members of a Seminar conducted by the writer. Especially should indebtedness be acknowledged to Edgar J. Goodspeed and A. A. Ewing.

Gospel (1:1–4) gives his sources with considerable distinctness. The author declares (*a*) that many had undertaken to draw up an account of the facts of Christ's life; (*b*) that the material of these accounts had been received from eyewitnesses; (*c*) that Theophilus had already information in regard to the matters which the author had carefully investigated, and about which he purposed to write.

But there is further information at least implied by this preface. The expression, "to draw up a narrative" (ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν) is hardly intelligible if it does not refer to written rather than oral accounts. Yet, at the same time, the expression "as they have delivered" (παρέδοσαν) implies an oral transmission of the gospel facts from the eyewitness. Thus the descent of Luke's Gospel may very well be said to be *tradition—document—Gospel.* But this is by no means all. The tradition itself had reached Luke, and in some similar shape had reached Theophilus ("us"). This latter point is at least rendered probable by the verb "wast instructed" (κατηχήθης) which, disregarding "ministers" (ὑπηρέται, *cf.* Acts 13:5) of vs. 2, certainly seems to imply some form of catechetical instruction of converts.

There would seem, therefore, to have been known to the writer of this Gospel (*a*) written accounts embodying older unwritten sources, (*b*) these traditions themselves possibly in the more or less crystallized form of catechetical teachings.

It is not difficult to find traces of such sources in the Gospel. A comparison of Luke with the other synoptists reveals four groups of passages: (*a*) those that are practically identical with passages in Mark and Matthew and generally read like a rewriting of Mark; (*b*) those that are peculiar to Luke and Matthew; (*c*) those that sound like echoes, more or less distinct, of John (compare 19:37 with John 12:18; 10:22 with John 6:46); (*d*) those that are peculiar to Luke. If we disregard certain scattered incidents and teachings, these sections peculiar to Luke form distinct divisions of the Gospel, viz.: the infancy section, 1:5–2:52; the Perean section, 9:51–18:14, and the Jerusalem cycle of the resurrection history, 24:13–53. These divisions, however, are not all thoroughly homogeneous, but in the first two cases, at

least, seem rather to be composed of a number of complete and independent anecdotes united without the definite plan that characterizes Matthew and John, and to a considerable extent, Mark. In the case of the infancy section there are also striking differences in vocabulary and in literary style, Aramaisms being especially noticeable.

These facts may be thus harmonized with the statement of the preface: (1) From a written source Luke gained such parts of his Gospel as are also to be found in both Mark and Matthew. This written source was probably our Gospel of Mark. From written sources hard to determine, but probably not our Gospel of Matthew, he gained such parts as are common to himself and Matthew. (2) From non-extant oral or written sources (probably from both) he gained those parts peculiar to himself. Portions at least of the infancy section were undoubtedly in writing before incorporated in our Gospel. (3) Probably the traces of Johannine teaching not common to both Luke and Matthew were derived from oral sources.

Thus Luke's Gospel is, as its preface implies, an historical work of the second class, that is, a history rather than a source. This fact is further evidenced by comparing it with the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, the former of which is seen to have been in all probability one of its chief written sources. Another evidence of the Gospel's belonging to what may be called the second generation of evangelical history is to be found in the facts mentioned below, (*a*) its persistent use of the past in preference to the present tense; (*b*) its tendency to round out accounts with details and explanations; (*c*) its constant, though never radical, redaction of the other accounts.

3. *The author's point of view.*—To determine this we need to look carefully at (1) the preface; (2) the editorial changes of his sources so far as they may be traced; (3) the Lucan additions.

(1) According to his preface, Luke declares that he has accurately traced the course of the entire gospel history from its start and proposes to rewrite it in an orderly fashion. He further declares that his purpose is an apologetic one—Theophilus is by the new critical and written history to know the certainty

of the things which he had learned by word of mouth. We are therefore led to expect that our author will give us evidences of investigation and of orderly arrangement, and above all, that he will so present his facts that the faith of an imperfectly informed and, to judge from his name, a gentile convert will be strengthened.

(2) The editorial features of the Gospel carry still further the conclusions from the words of the preface. (*a*) We find frequent geographical explanations. Thus in 1:26, 2:24, 2:39, 4:31 the country to which a city belongs is given; in 6:17 the descriptive phrase "seacoast" is added; in 8:26 the country of the Gerasenes is located "over against Galilee;" in 23:51 Arimathea is called "a city of the Jews," and in 24:13 Emmaus is accurately located. In 4:9 where Matthew has the "Holy City" Luke has simply Jerusalem. A somewhat remarkable instance of such accuracy is seen in Luke's uniform employment of "the lake" in the place of "the sea" of Galilee. (*b*) The belief of the writers of the third and fourth centuries that Luke wrote especially for gentiles is supported not alone by these geographical descriptions, but by his pretty clearly defined purpose to remove by omission or explanation many of the strongly marked Jewish characteristics of his sources. Thus Aramaic expressions are omitted or translated (8:54, 19:38, 23:33). (*c*) The word "teaching" (διδαχή) which is found eight times in Matthew and Mark, occurs but once (4:32) in Luke, and then without any reference to rabbinical instruction, while in 4:36 Luke uses λόγος in its place. In 19:46 Mark s reference to the temple as "a house of prayer for all nations," becomes simply "a house of prayer." The Pharisees are represented not, as in Matthew, as types of hypocrites, but simply as the opponents of Jesus. Further, Luke alone has preserved the words of 4:25–27, so singularly fitted for a gospel destined for use among the Gentiles. In 3:6 the universality of the Gospel is shown by the addition of that part of the quotation omitted by Mark and Matthew, "and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." The same thought of Luke seems perhaps implied by his frequent use of the intensive ἅπας. On the other hand the strange passage of 21:24, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until

the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," is Lucan. Further verbal changes and additions will be noted in the next paragraph.

(3) A similar extension of the work of grace is seen in 2:14 and 2:32, and, by implication, in the extended genealogy, 3:23–38, both distinctly Lucan additions to the Petrine and Matthean accounts. Such, also, are John's specific rulings for the different classes who seek admission to the kingdom (3:10–14). But the mission of Jesus to all humanity is even more clearly shown in the great addition containing the account of the Perean ministry. In this we have Jesus' refusal to call down fire on the Samaritan village; the sending of the seventy; the story of the good Samaritan; the teaching concerning salvation, ending with the words (placed in Matt. 8:11 in another and less natural setting) "And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God," etc.; the parables of the great supper and the prodigal son.

In regard to this "Perean" section, it is noteworthy that Luke gives an historical setting to many of the words of Jesus which Matthew has compiled in the Sermon on the Mount. This fact suggests that Matthew may have had a knowledge of the same collection that Luke used in writing this section.

4. *The literary characteristics of the Gospel.*—The cosmopolitan sympathies and purposes of Luke account for the rather marked literary character of his Gospel. Not only does he add to and omit facts found in his chief source (the Gospel of Mark) but he more or less consciously edits the material adopted. It would not be possible to prove that all the changes and characteristics about to be mentioned were deliberately made, nor is such an assumption necessary. A writer's sympathies and habits of thought are quite as likely to produce literary changes as is a conscious purpose.

(1) The words of the Gospel present some interesting peculiarities. While the Gospel of Mark contains 102 words peculiar to itself, and that of Matthew 137, the Gospel of Luke contains no less than 312. Several of these words (*e.g.*, tile, 5:19, minæ, 19:13) must have been used as especially intelligible to his gentile readers. On the other hand, and apparently for the same

reason, Luke omits or uses equivalent terms for many words which are found in Mark and Matthew. Thus "rabbi" is never used by Luke, and Aramaic expressions are either omitted or translated; "unclean spirit" is several times changed to "demon;" "Simon the Cananæan" becomes "Simon who was called the Zealot;" "Amen" is used only seven times as against thirty in Matthew, and in its stead appears "truly." Further, Luke is fond of compound words, which he uses with some discrimination. Indeed, it is to be noticed that Luke shows more care for an exact use of Greek than do Mark and Matthew. Thus his use of the optative which, while hardly warranting the description "frequent" given it by Weiss, is at least more extended than that of the other two synoptics. A somewhat remarkable example of this care is to be seen in his use in twenty-six out of thirty-one cases of the form Ἱερουσαλήμ, while Mark (ten out of twelve) and Matthew (eleven out of twelve) prefer Ἱερσόλυμα.

(2) Luke has a fondness for certain grammatical forms. Thus he uses the genitive absolute forty-seven times; the infinitive with the article, sixty-four times, and above all, the past tense where his source uses the present. Thus, Mark uses the historical present 142 times, Matthew, eighty-eight, Luke, nine. One case, an historical present in Mark is represented by the same form in Luke; in seven cases, Matthew and Mark agree in using historical presents, while Luke has aorists instead; in two cases, Matthew's historical presents are replaced in Luke by imperfects; in three cases, historical presents in Mark are replaced in Luke by imperfects; in twenty-one cases, historical presents in Matthew are replaced by aorists; in sixty cases, historical presents in Mark are replaced in Luke by aorists. The total number of cases in which an historical present in Matthew and Mark has been replaced in Luke by an imperfect or aorist is thus ninety-three.

(3) Further changes made by Luke may be classified loosely as follows: (*a*) for grammatical improvement, as in 13:19; (*b*) for literary improvement, as in 4:34, 4:36, 5:21, 5:24, 6:1, 6:9, 6:16, 6:45, 8:46; (*c*) for expansion, as in 3:22, 6:8; (*d*) for clearness, as in 4:1, 6:8, 17, 21, 22; 7:21, 8:34, 55; 11:12, 36; (*e*) such as

are natural for a writer who is somewhat remote from the event he describes: *e. g.*, the reduction of rhetorical questions to assertions, as in 6:3, 8:16, 49; 12:23, 29; 13:26; the use of "word" (λόγος) where Matthew and Mark have some more vivid expression, as in 8:21; the use of words that belong to a later development of the Christian vocabulary than is found in the other synoptists, as in 8:12; 11:13; (*f*) but most striking perhaps of all, such as are the outcome of his desire for accuracy and specific reference, as in 6:1, 4, 6, 12; 8:22; 12:24; 20:42; 21:20, 24.

(4) It is evident that notwithstanding these changes the style of the Gospel is not always the same. The explanation is to be found in the origin of the book. In those sections peculiar to himself, Luke's style seems to have been largely set by his sources. Not only does each section differ from the other but within their own limits their style varies. Thus the infancy section contains at least two groups of narratives—those relating to the events preceding and attending the birth of Jesus, and the story of the visit to Jerusalem. The two are separated widely in style and thought. The first portion is strongly tinged with Aramaisms and is marked by a thoroughly pre-Christian conception of the Messiah. It probably was a complete story that has been appropriated bodily. On the other hand, the second part is written in tolerably good Greek, and seems Luke's own account, the facts alone of which he had gathered. The same influence of his sources is true of the Perean section, though rather in matter than in style. It would seem as if in this section a number of independent stories had been gathered together, without any attempt, as in the Gospel of Matthew, to combine similar sayings and incidents. Yet at the same time, the general similarity in style would seem to indicate that Luke had not merely copied his sources, but had to some extent rewritten them. In the history of the passion and resurrection, Luke's independent source must have been the words of Paul or have been known to Paul. Such similarity as exists between 22:19, 20 and 1 Cor. 11:23–25 argues strongly some intimate relation of the accounts.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By Dr. Gustav Weil.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D. and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

For the convenience of the student a list of the more accessible works on the contents and criticism of the Quran is given below:

1. Nöldeke, Theodor. *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Göttingen, 1860. First published in 1859 under the title *De Origine et Compositione Qorani.* This work still remains the standard discussion of the subject, both generally and in detail.

2. Nöldeke, Theodor. Article in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XVI., pp. 597–606. One of the very best condensed statements of the facts relating to the composition and history of the Quran. It omits all discussion of individual suras.

3. Hughes, Rev. T. P. *A Dictionary of Islam*, 1885. An exhaustive article on the Qur'an, pp. 483–530, repays careful study. It embodies much traditional material and other information not readily accessible to one who is not a specialist.

4. Muir, Sir Wm. *Life of Mahomet*, 4 vols., 1861. At the end of Vol. II. is a chronological list of suras, amended in part by a note appended to Vol. III. A general discussion of the Quran is found in Vol. I., pp. i.–xxviii.

5. Sprenger, A. *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, 3 vols., 1862. Contains notes on the various suras scattered throughout the whole work, to be located by the index. Emphasizes tradition more than most writers.

6. Sale, George. *The Koran*, London, 1777. A translation full of paraphrase, but useful even now. Sale's "Preliminary Discourse" is a treatise on every topic pertaining to the Quran.

7. Rodwell, Rev. J. M. *The Koran*, 2d edition, 1876. Attempts to indicate the chronological order of the suras and their poetic quality. Often has valuable notes.

8. Palmer, E. H. *The Qur'ân* in Vols. VI. and IX. of "Sacred Books of the East." On the whole the best English translation of the Quran.

Krehl, Ullmann, Kazimirski and many others have contributed to the understanding of the Quran. For their works and for Arab and other authorities, *cf.* Litteratur F. in Socin's *Arabische Grammatik*, 3d edition, E. in the English edition.

PART SECOND, THE QURAN.

I. *Causes of the disorganized condition of the Quran.*—It is certainly a striking fact that Muhammad did not during his lifetime have a complete collection of his messages made, either in chronological order or with reference to their contents, since, as he himself frequently said, they were to be for all time the light and guidance of believers. The Muslims indeed maintain, but apparently only to excuse their prophet and to defend the authenticity of the Quran, that this was unnecessary, because the verses revealed by him were at once committed to memory by his companions, and thus were saved from oblivion. But is it not clear that at Muhammad's death no one except Abu Bakr knew anything about a verse in which Muhammad's mortality was clearly set forth?[1] Did not Umar maintain that the verse which punishes adultery with death, together with some others, had been lost? Do we not find at the present day many passages accepted by orthodox Muslims which are lacking in our text? And how often were earlier ordinances superseded by later ones, although those in whose memories the former were retained were not present at the time of their revocation. Did not Muhammad of necessity foresee[2] what later actually did happen, that disagreements would soon arise over the wording, at least, of his revelations? Must not he who indeed maintains in different places of the Quran that Christians and Jews had falsified Holy Writ have feared that some one would substitute something displeasing to him? We can find no other reason for this carelessness than that the majority of the so-called revelations were called forth by the exigencies of the moment and had but a passing significance so that their preservation did not appear very important to him. Perhaps, too, he hesitated to hand them down to posterity as a complete collection on account of the many contradictions which they contained. Finally he

[1] It is possible that Abu Bakr invented these and other verses which treat of Muhammad's death, for they nowhere fit the context, and that Muhammad really wished to leave his followers in doubt regarding his mortality. The verses in question are Sura 3:138, 182; 29:57; 21:35, 36; 39:31.

[2] Nöldeke takes the opposite view, *Gesch.*, p. 36.

may have wished to have, as long as he lived, ample opportunity for further changes and additions. The following story of an orthodox Muslim shows us how important it was for Muhammad to be able at any moment to alter his revelations, which would not have been so easy if he had handed them over as a completed and arranged volume to the believers. When the verse was revealed, "Are those who remain at home equal in the sight of God to those who fight for the faith?"[1] Abdallah Ibn Jahš and Ibn Umm Maktum said to Muhammad, "We are blind, is there no exception for us?" At once God revealed, "Excepting those afflicted by some bodily infirmity." The prophet at once sent for the bone upon which this verse was written and commanded his secretary Zaid Ibn Thabit to add these words. "It seems to me," said Zaid afterwards, "that I still see this place near a scratch on the bone." There is another tradition according to which Abdallah Ibn Masud, one of the companions, jotted down one evening a verse which he was unable to find the next morning, and Muhammad said to him that it must have been taken back to heaven, together with some other words which had gone from him during the night. This shows that when a new revelation contradicted an earlier one, he was not content with pronouncing the latter valueless but destroyed it if he could. An ancient and unquestioned tradition as well as the Quran itself[2] maintains this right, and also asserts, that if retracted revelations have already been committed to memory they are to be forgotten. Therefore it is not too much to affirm that according to Muhammad's plan, there were to be no contradictions in the Quran, and that Abu Bakr acted contrary to his intention when he incorporated therein all verses existing either in writing or in the memory of a believer. Did not Muhammad himself prove the divine origin of the Quran by asserting its freedom from contradictions?[3]

II. *Relation of Abu Bakr and Uthman to this.*—But, even if we think of Muhammad as one who was reluctant to bequeath to his

[1] *Cf.* Sura 4:97.

[2] *Cf.* Sura 2:100; 87:6; 16:103; *cf.* Hughes, *Dict. Islam.* "Quran," section VIII., p. 519.

[3] *Cf.* Sura 4:84.

followers, as a complete treatise on religion and law, that which he had uttered during twenty-three years in the name of Heaven and thereby lay a charge against his truthfulness and honesty, the real responsibility for the mistakes which we now find in the Quran belongs, not to him but to Abu Bakr and Uthman. The former, after the battle with the false prophet Musailama which cost the lives of many "Readers," collected all Muhammad's revelations which were scattered upon parchment, palm leaves, bones, stones and other rude materials among the Muslims, and from real or feigned piety had them all written down without any investigation.

The Caliph Uthman, too, who afterward made a second recension of the Quran, paid no attention to its improvement and arrangement, but directed his efforts only toward reëstablishing its unity,[1] for as early as his time different versions were in circulation which gave occasion for violent disputes among the learned. Therefore he caused a new recension to be made from the documents collected by Zaid under Abu Bakr, which had been kept by Hafsa Umar's daughter. This differed from that of Abu Bakr in the fact that wherever there had been two accounts of the same thing only one was retained, and also in that other collections or fragments which were in the hands of old "Companions" received little or no recognition. The critic of the Quran blames Uthman severely on account of his order to burn up all earlier copies so that only his version should be transmitted to posterity.

III. *Muslim traditions regarding it.*—To be sure Muslims maintain that the variations were due merely to dialectic differences and that the Quran was revealed by Muhammad himself in seven dialects,[2] among which Uthman selected the one most nearly related to that of the Quraish. But this opinion is not only untenable by sound criticism but is opposed to other well-known and trustworthy Muslim traditions.

[1] The relation of the work of Uthman to that of Abu Bakr has not been definitely settled. It is doubtful whether Abu Bakr did more than to gather sources, Uthman being the first to make complete copies.

[2] *I. e.*, the Quraish, Taiy, Hawâzin, Yaman, Shaqîf, Hudhail and Tamîm, *cf.* further Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, pp. 569, 489.

One tradition says, "Umar once heard Hisham read the 25th Sura in a different way from that in which Muhammad had revealed it to him." Thereupon he brought him to the prophet and had him repeat it, then he also recited it in his way. Muhammad said that both were right, for the Quran was revealed in seven different readings (Lesarten).[1] We are obliged to conclude from this tradition that the variation was not due to mere provincialisms, for then it would not have been necessary for both to repeat the entire chapter.

The following tradition speaks still more definitely against the assertion of the Muslims: "Every year in the month of Ramadhan, Muhammad used to repeat before the angel Gabriel the portions of the Quran revealed up to date. They also say that he repeated it twice during the last year of his life. Whenever he added a new reading or annulled anything which existed in the first seven copies,[2] his companions at once impressed these variants upon their memories and acted in accordance therewith." Here we see that the apparent conflicts in the revelations were not only in language, but also in contents.

Such conflicting passages Umar left out as well as the dialectic variations. He seems to have wished by the destruction of all these variants to produce a Quran concerning the contents of which there could be no more quarreling. But he seems to have been less careful in regard to correctness and unity in matters of orthography and grammar. We have a tradition, according to which Uthman, upon finding an orthographical mistake in a copy prepared at his command, said, "Let it stand. The Arabs will set it right," or, according to another version, "The Arabs will pronounce it according to the rules of their language." This laxness helps us to understand the following tradition, to which Muslims give a most peculiar meaning, for the purpose of pre-

[1] The Arabic expression is "*'alâ sab'atu 'ahrufin.*" Acc. to Nöldeke, pp. 37–41, this has been interpreted to mean "seven kinds of material," viz., history, commandment, prohibition, etc., or "seven different senses," viz., one outward and six secret meanings, or "seven various readings," or "seven different languages." He favors the rendering, "different interpretations."

[2] This expression represents the copies collected by Abu Bakr in contradistinction to those of the learned schoolmen of a later time.

venting any doubt as to the correctness of the Quran. "Hisham the son of Urwas relates that his father once asked Ayisha how it happened that there were so many violations of Arabic syntax in it and she answered, 'From the carelessness of the scribe.'"

IV. *Uthman's recension.*—Uthman's policy in reference to the Quran is justifiable on political grounds, but from the standpoint of criticism as well as from that of faith it must be condemned and deserves the censure of Muslims, especially of the learned among them. Unfortunately the manuscripts of the Quran were at that time so few, that he seems to have succeeded, with some unimportant exceptions, in collecting and burning all in existence and in forcing his recension upon all Islam. It is, however, doubtful whether Uthman's copies exist[1] and can be used by Muslim Massoretes for the verification of the text, as many Muslims assert. But there is little doubt as to the perpetuation of the text prepared by him and his contemporaries. We can conclude with certainty that after Uthman no real change has been made in the text, at least no intentional addition or omission. Nevertheless we cannot consider our oldest manuscript as the work of Uthman, because in his time Arabic writing was so faulty and its styles so variable that slight variations could easily occur, and further because, at that time, there were no diacritical marks to distinguish several similar letters, and vowel points were not in use. These were first used in the second century of the Hijra, when doubt had already arisen concerning many letters and vowels; consequently we have at the present time many variant readings which seriously affect the meaning.

It would seem very strange if Uthman, who went about the redaction of the Quran less carefully and conscientiously than Abu Bakr, had not left out some of the laws, dogmas and legends which Muhammad often mentioned, but had placed in his revelation only once: and stranger still that he did nothing towards

[1] Four standard copies were made by Uthman, one of which was kept at Medina and one sent to Kufa, Baçra (Bassorah) and Damascus, respectively. Tradition mentions three other "original" copies at Cairo, Morocco and Tiberias, and adds that the Tiberias copy was carried to Damascus at the time of the crusades. It is interesting to note that when the Great Mosque at Damascus took fire in the fall of 1892 Uthman's copy was reported to have been destroyed.

a systematic or chronological arrangement. The confusion prevailing in our Quran preplexes the European scholar, though he be familiar with the life of Muhammad. Even the ablest Muslim expounders are sometimes puzzled, quarreling with each other about verses and even whole chapters, both regarding the occasion and the place of their appearance. But even when they agree upon the time and occasion of a revelation, they are not always trustworthy, for they often place more reliance on the mere letter of a false tradition than on an independent, wide-awake criticism.

V. *Origin of the suras.*—The division of the Quran into 114 suras[1] or chapters does not come from Muhammad, as orthodox Muslims believe. It cannot be denied, however, that Muhammad revealed at least a portion of the Quran in certain sections, which he called suras. Those who learned the Quran by heart might have given a name to each section as an aid to the memory. But the greater portion of many suras, especially the older ones, seems to have been lost or purposely destroyed, so that only their names and a few verses remain; while the later, longer ones are sometimes made up of sections which did not originally belong together.

VI. *Principles of classification.*—In an introduction to the Quran it is necessary to attempt to determine not merely the time of the appearance of the entire sura, but also that of the separate parts of each sura, especially of the legal suras of Medina. In the case of these, it is possible to give a fixed order to each sura. The Meccan suras, because of their lack of distinctive characteristics (*Allgemeinheit*) and their similarity,[2] can only be divided into three periods. Three indications serve as a guide in a chronological determination: first, clear references to historical events whose time is known from other sources; second, the subject-matter of the suras, which entirely changed

[1] For a discussion of the words "Quran" and "sura" *cf.* Nöldeke, *Qoran*, p. 24.

[2] Nöldeke, *G. Q.*, pp. 57, 58, states his general agreement with Weil in this distribution. In details he often differs from Weil. On p. 59 he adds "That among the Mekkan suras separate groups can be distinguished, but that no detailed exact chronological order can be set forth, ever becomes clearer to me the more closely I study the Quran. Most of the so-called indications turn out to be untrustworthy and uncertain."

after the Hijra; for Muhammad in the first period appeared more as a reformer, in the second, as a founder of a new religion and as a lawgiver; third, their outward form, for Muhammad at first, like the earlier Arabian prophets, presented his teachings in a poetic and rhythmical,[1] though ungrammatical, language; while later, partly on purpose, in order not to rank as a mere poet or soothsayer, partly because he had already exhausted himself, but especially because in his old age and in his position as founder of a religion, ruler, and lawgiver, he lacked true inspiration, he treated in the most prosaic manner the very subjects which in earlier life he had invested with brilliant imaginings.[2]

VII. *Suras of the First Meccan Period* (610–615, A. D.). As those suras in which Muhammad is first mentioned as an apostle of the Lord are certainly the oldest,[3] we agree with tradition in regard to the first two revealed, Suras 96 and 74. Probably some suras or passages, which contained the germ of the original teaching of Muhammad, have been lost, scattered among other suras or perhaps purposely destroyed. These must have appeared at the same time as the suras mentioned or even earlier, for only the first five verses of 96 and the first seven of 74 are to be considered as announcing his prophetic mission, while the following verses deal with those who refuse to listen to Muhammad and revile the Quran. Moreover the first words of Sura 96 imply a completed book, or at least a contemporary or earlier revelation which he was now proclaiming. Verses 31–34 of Sura 74 certainly belong to a much later period. The first nine verses of 73 are among the oldest, the next ten appeared later, and the last verse certainly was uttered in Medina. Undoubtedly verses 214–218 of Sura 26, in which Muhammad is required to pray to only one God and to warn his kindred from idol worship, belong to the

[1] Nöldeke affirms that the Quran is rhetorical rather than poetical, and that Muhammad had no poetic faculty. He did make an impressive use of rhythmical prose, *cf. Gesch. Qorans*, pp. 26–32.

[2] Nöldeke lays supreme emphasis upon "the exact observation of the meaning of the Quran itself and of its linguistic peculiarities," p. 49.

[3] For a comparison of varying opinions on this subject see the chart of the suras, p. 358.

older revelations.[1] Likewise Sura 106, which refers especially to the Quraish. Then follows Sura 111, which contains a curse against Muhammad's uncle Abu Lahab, who, as we know from biographical sources, threw a stone at his nephew when he preached for the first time. Then probably come the last six verses of Sura 15, in which he is commanded to publish his doctrine abroad, not merely before his kindred and friends. All the rest of Sura 15 belongs in the second period.

Then follows a group of suras in which Muhammad is exhorted to persevere in his course and not to allow himself to be diverted from his belief in one God by the opposition of the people of Mecca. The divine character of the Quran is announced, Muhammad's character as prophet and apostle of the Lord is definitely set forth and distinguished from that of the maniac, the poet, the magician, and the soothsayer,[2] the doctrine of the resurrection is asserted, and certain retribution declared against the mocking Arabs. All these suras, which we assign to the first five years of Muhammad's mission, bear the marks of a genuine inspiration[3] and of a deep inward conviction which seemed to Muhammad himself the result of a true heavenly vision. In some passages it is almost impossible to avoid the view that Muhammad himself in the early part of his career was the tool of another reformer who appeared to him in the guise of an angel.[4] Muhammad himself maintained that angels could only appear in human form and therefore replied to the unbelievers who wanted to have angels come down from heaven to testify to the authenticity of the Quran, "What would that avail, since you would consider them as only men?"[5] Muslim tradition also endows the angel Gabriel with a human form, many even naming Dihya, one of the companions, as the man who most resembled him. How otherwise are those verses to be interpreted in which Muham-

[1] Nöldeke, pp. 96–98, strongly opposes this conclusion on the ground that the style of these verses is certainly late.

[2] *Cf.* Sura 69:40 *ff.*

[3] Compare Nöldeke's glowing remarks about them, pp. 56, 57, 59–61.

[4] Nöldeke strongly dissents from this opinion for the following reasons: it is improbable, unnecessary and productive of complications, p. 21.

[5] Sura 6:8, 9.

mad is commanded not to repeat the Quran while it is being read to him, but to wait until the angel finishes?[1] How those where he is bidden to depart from the unbelievers if they mock at the Quran, and if Satan causes him to forget this command, at least to do so as soon as he remembers it.[2] It is indeed possible that Muhammad said to himself, "Perhaps you had better withhold a portion of the revelation, because the words of the revilers weigh upon you;"[3] or, "If you yield to their wishes, God will no longer protect you;"[4] or, "If you read the Quran, seek refuge from Satan with God."[5] No deception is conceivable in these and similar verses, for they exhibit an artificial *naïveté* which is in sharp contrast with the reality of the teaching of the first period and the spirit with which it was uttered. They cause us to acquit Muhammad of any thought of deception at this time, and to consider him as a self-deceived religious fanatic rather than an intentional impostor. The man who deceived him and appeared to him in the form of an angel may himself have been a sincere reformer, who considered it now and then necessary to exhort to steadfastness the weak and timorous prophet, who was ready to make almost any concessions, and to advise him to be careful in publishing his visions.

An exact chronological arrangement of the remaining suras of the first period is impossible on account of their similarity in form and contents,[6] and therefore we follow an order given in Arab tradition. They contain, besides the doctrines of God, Muhammad, the Quran, and the resurrection, here and there moral precepts which form the kernel of every religion, and also brief notices of ancient peoples who had been destroyed on account of their unbelief. We really ought not to begin with Sura 81 which the Arabs put immediately after Sura 111, because

[1] Suras 75:16, 19; 20:113.

[2] Sura 6:67.

[3] Sura 11:15; *cf.* also 28:86–88; 10:94, 95, 109.

[4] Sura 13:40.

[5] Sura 16:100. Compare Suras 113, 114.

[6] The student may profitably consider the arrangement of suras made by Muir and by Nöldeke respectively. The latter distinctly states that the order of individual suras is very uncertain.

this sura, as verse 22 especially shows, was probably contemporaneous with Sura 53. Both deal with Muhammad's vision, in which he imagined himself raised to heaven, and which, according to most authorities, occurred after his return from Taif. However, since, according to their style, both belong to the earliest period, as one can also see from their utter difference from the sura of the Jinn (Sura 72), which certainly belongs after the return from Taif, therefore another vision must be the subject of these two, and these verses were wrongly used in later times to support the legend of the "Night-journey." This is the more probable because even according to Muslim biographies, verses 19 and 20 of Sura 53 appeared shortly after the first emigration to Abyssinia and were the cause of the return of the first emigrants. Verses 30 to 33 seem to belong to the latest Meccan passages. After the above mentioned suras come Suras 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, and finally 103. These apparently, like many other short suras, either consist of detached verses, which do not really make a chapter, or lack a portion of their original material. Next come 100, 108, 102, and 107. Sura 109, which some Quran scholars place among those of Medina, certainly does not belong to the first Meccan period but to the second, when Muhammad's doctrine had gained such a foothold that the idolaters wished to obtain some concessions from him. Then come 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86. So far we have differed from native authorities only in regard to Sura 53 and to Sura 50, which they place next to Sura 85. Sura 50 surely belongs to the second period on account of its longer and less poetic verses. Henceforth we go our own way and reckon among the oldest some which they placed just before the Hijra. So Suras 70, 78, 79, 81, 82, and 84, in which the judgment is depicted in a masterly way in short rhythmical phrases, also 56, 88, 52, 69 and lastly 83. Also Sura 99, which many Muslims assign to Medina, belongs to the first Meccan period.

VIII. *Suras of the Second Meccan Period* (615–620 A. D.).—The second period likewise contains many poetic suras, but Muhammad appears more as a prophet than as a mere enthusiast His productions exhibit quiet reflection, variety and art instead

of the direct outpourings of an overflowing soul.[1] He goes more into detail, both in his invectives against the superstitious Meccans, and in laying the foundations of the true faith. Hell and Paradise are ever more diffusely described and the divine attributes more definitely determined and defended. The legends of the prophets increase, and take on a more positive tone. Even while he was at Mecca this aroused the suspicion that he had a confederate. This suspicion was outspoken and never thoroughly refuted.[2] For if those whom the men of Mecca designated as his teachers were foreigners, who were not complete masters of the Arabic language, they might still have supplied him with the material for his revelations which he afterwards freely worked over. To this period, which extends up to Muhammad's return from Taif, we assign, besides those already mentioned, Suras 1, 51, 36, 50, 54, 44, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 67, 37, 38, 43, 71, and also 55 and 76, which many Muslims assign to Medina.

IX. *Suras of the Third Meccan Period* (620–622, A. D.).—The suras which appeared during his last years at Mecca, which rarely rise above ordinary prose[3] but still display considerable oratorical talent are 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 31, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13 and 64. The last two are commonly considered to belong to Medina. In the case of the former there is no reason for so thinking. In the case of the latter we find in the 14th verse, "O ye who believe," a formula which generally was used at Medina, but which Muhammad might have used even in Mecca when he revealed anything which concerned only the converts to Islam. The thought of this passage, if it was brought out in Mecca, is surely an admonition not to allow wife or children to hinder one from emigrating to Medina, which Muhammad is known to have urged upon the believers even before he himself went.

Before we pass on to the Medina suras, whose chronological order it is the more necessary and easy to determine on account of their connection with historical occurrences, we must add a

[1] Compare the remarks of Nöldeke, pp. 89–92.

[2] Compare Sura 16 : 105; 25 : 5; 44 : 13.

[3] Nöldeke, p. 107, makes some interesting remarks about this group of suras.

few remarks about certain Meccan suras. The 93d verse of Sura 6, according to Muslim tradition, was brought out later and has to do with the false prophets who first appeared after the Hijra. However, it is possible that Muhammad spoke without alluding to anyone, merely to obtain more credence, when he said, "Who is more unjust than he who devises against God a lie or says 'I am inspired' when he was not inspired at all!" that is, in other words, "How can you consider me so impious!"

The 29th verse of Sura 7 is also said to have appeared at Medina and indeed even after the conquest of Mecca. This admits of no question, if the verse is regarded as a command; but it is possible that it was only an exhortation against the Quraish, who wished to force a new costume upon the pilgrims or to compel them to make the circuit of the temple naked, so that it may have appeared earlier.

Sura 16, verse 43, in which a rich reward is promised to the emigrants, may refer to the emigration to Abyssinia. Verse 111, however, certainly alludes to the emigration to Medina, because afterwards comes an exhortation to the holy war. Verse 103 seems also to belong to Medina, for it was probably first at Medina that earlier revelations were recalled; moreover it is probable that the stranger who instructed him was the Persian Salman who was converted after the Hijra. Finally verse 127 must have appeared after the battle of Uhud, for it forbids mutilation; still it may have had a general signification and afterwards been changed to this prohibition.

In Sura 17, verse 35, which says, "He who was slain unjustly we have given his next of kin authority," and which probably refers to verse 173 of Sura 2, appeared at Medina where Muhammad first had executive power. Verse 78 also may have been brought out at Medina, for it speaks of an attempt to drive Muhammad out of the country, which the Meccans had actually accomplished, so it must refer either to the "hypocrites" or to the Jews of Medina. But the following passage (verse 83) may have been brought out at Mecca, for even before the conquest of Mecca, immediately after the "embassy," he might have said, "The truth has come, untruth has gone." The first verse of

this sura is not to be regarded as Meccan, but on the contrary as a piece of poetry erroneously incorporated into the Quran after Muhammad's death. Several passages in the Quran indicate[1] that Muhammad wished the night journey to Jerusalem and thence to heaven to be regarded as merely a vision. His constant assertion that he was a preacher, not a performer of miracles,[2] should have convinced even the believers of the improbability of an actual journey as well as of a riven moon.[3] Yet this legend spread abroad soon after the death of the prophet, and so the following verse, which any Muslim may have fabricated, perhaps even in the time of Abu Bakr may have been inserted in the Quran.[4] It does not, however, harmonize with the following verses and is not only incomprehensible to a person unacquainted with the legend, but perplexing to one acquainted with it and also grammatically incorrect. It says literally, "Celebrated be the praises of him who took his servant a journey by night from the sacred mosque to the remote mosque, the precinct of which we have blessed, to show him of our signs. Verily he both hears and looks."[5]

In the 85th verse of Sura 28, according to some interpreters, Muhammad prophesies a future return to Mecca, and, if so, the verse must have been brought out in Medina or, at any rate, on the journey thither. But the word *Ma'âd* which literally means "place of the return" can be understood to refer to this world as well as to Mecca.

Verses 9 and 10 of Sura 29 must also be assigned to Medina, for they say that certain people separate from the believers when they are in distress, but rejoin them when assistance from God comes; but that God will know how to distinguish the true believers from the hypocrites. The first five verses of Sura 30 which refer to the victory of the Persians over the Greeks belong to the earlier period.

[1] Fully discussed by Weil in his *Leb. Moh.*, p. 373.

[2] *Cf.* Suras 13:8, 27; 29:49.

[3] *Cf.* Sura 54:2 and note by Palmer, *Quran*, Vol. II., p. 255.

[4] Because, so Nöldeke thinks, of the other references in the sura to the event, p. 103.

[5] Verse 1 to which compare verses 62 and 96. Weil observes that the first verse may refer to the Hijra which probably took place by night.

Finally verse 14 of Sura 46, at least the second part of it, which the Muslims say refers to Abu Bakr whose father, son and grandson were converted to Islam, is not less corrupt than the first verse of the 17th. It reads, "We have prescribed for man kindness towards his parents. His mother bore him with trouble and brought him forth with trouble, and the bearing of him and the weaning of him is thirty months; until, when he reaches puberty and reaches forty years, he says, 'Lord, stir me up that I may be thankful for thy favors wherewith thou hast favored me, my parents, and that I may do right to please thee and make it right for me in my offspring; verily I turn repentant unto thee, and verily I am of those resigned (Muslimin).'"

The Suras of the Quran, Chronologically Arranged, According to Various Standard Authorities.

Chronological Periods	Sir William Muir Life of Mahomet, Vol. II., app.	Gustav Weil	Th. Nöldeke Geschichte des Qorans	J. M. Rodwell "The Koran"	Arabic Tradition Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, p. 490 Noeldeke, *Gesch.*, p. 47
Prior to Muhammad's fortieth year, *circ.* 610 A.D.	FIRST PERIOD 103, 100, 99, 91, 106, 1, 101, 95, 102, 104, 82, 92, 105, 89, 90, 93, 94, 108.				
The "Fatra," or period of indecision. To Muhammad's forty-third year (610–613 A.D.)	SECOND PERIOD 96, 112, 74, 111.	FIRST PERIOD 96, 74, 73, 26:214-218, 106, 111, 81, 53, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 106, 108, 102, 107, 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86, 70, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 56, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99.	FIRST PERIOD 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.	FIRST PERIOD 96, 74, 73, 93, 94, 113, 114, 1, 109, 112, 111, 108, 104, 107, 102, 92, 68, 90, 105, 106, 97, 86, 91, 80, 87, 95, 103, 85, 101, 99, 82, 81, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 53, 70, 55.	96, 68, 73, 74, 111, 81, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 53, 80, 97, 91, 85, 95, 106, 101, 75, 104, 77, 50, 90, 86, 54, 38, 7, 72, 36, 25, 25, 19, 20, 57, 26, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 15, 6, 37, 31, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 88, 18, 16, 71, 14, 21, 23, 32, 52, 67, 69, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 30, 29, 83.
Commencement of public preaching to first emigration to Abyssinia (614, 615 A.D.)	THIRD PERIOD 87, 97, 88, 80, 81, 84, 86, 110, 85, 83, 78, 77, 76, 75, 70, 109, 107, 55, 56.				
First Abyssinian emigration to the return of Muhammad from Tayif in Muhammad's fiftieth year (615–620 A.D.)	FOURTH PERIOD 67, 53, 32, 39, 73, 79, 54, 34, 31, 69, 68, 41, 71, 52, 50, 45, 44, 37, 30, 26, 15, 51.	SECOND PERIOD 1, 51, 36, 50, 54, 44, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 67, 37, 38, 43, 71, 55, 76, 15, 109, 26.*	SECOND PERIOD 54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.	SECOND PERIOD [From here on, the numbers correspond exactly with Nöldeke's list.]	
Return from Tayif to the "Hijra" in Muhammad's fifty-second year (620–622 A.D.)	FIFTH PERIOD 46, 72, 35, 36, 19, 18, 27, 42, 40, 38, 25, 20, 43, 12, 11, 10, 14, 6, 64, 28, 23, 22, 21, 17, 16, 13, 29, 7, 113, 114.	THIRD PERIOD 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 31, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13, 64.	THIRD PERIOD 32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.	THIRD PERIOD	
Residence at Medina until Muhammad's death (622–632 A.D.)	SIXTH PERIOD 98, 2, 3, 8, 47, 62, 5, 59, 4, 58, 65, 24, 63, 57, 61, 48, 60, 66, 49, 9.	FOURTH PERIOD 2, 98, 62, 65, 22, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 59, 24, 63, 33, 48, 110, 61, 60, 58, 49, 66, 9, 5.	FOURTH PERIOD 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.	FOURTH PERIOD	2, 8, 3, 33, 60, 4, 99, 57, 47, 13, 55, 76, 65, 98, 59, 110, 24, 22, 63, 58, 49, 66, 62, 64, 61, 48, 5, 9.

* Not specifically placed by Weil, but probably belongs here.

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF SURAS.

1. **The Chronological Periods Adopted.**—These periods are fixed by such natural turning-points in Muhammad's career that there is practical (not absolute) unanimity in regard to them among critics who aim at chronological determination. For purposes of comparison the differences may be safely disregarded. Weil was the first to distinguish three periods of productivity at Mecca, style and subject-matter being his criteria. Nöldeke essentially agrees with him. Muir's fivefold division of Meccan suras is the result of an attempt to locate with considerable exactness every sura.

2. **The Various Principles of Arrangement.**—Muir (*Life of M.*, Vol. I. ii., Vol. II., p. 61, and appendix) bases his comparative arrangement on five data: (1) The subject-matter of each sura, (2) its literary form, (3) its references to historical events, (4) its length (the shortest ones being as a rule the earliest), (5) its representation as a message from God. He says it is only an approximate arrangement, but is fairly reliable. Applying the last two data, he assigns eighteen suras to a period prior to Muhammad's call to be a religious leader, on the ground that they do not claim to be pronounced by God. Such passages as are found in Suras 95 and 92 he explains as poetical fictions (Vol. II., p. 62).

Weil and Nöldeke (*Gesch.*, pp. 58, 61–63) adopt the first two data of Muir. They lay little stress upon the third, claiming that Muir's great mistake was in attempting to be too accurate. They recognize the fact that many suras are mosaics, composed of various fragments, and that the *length of a sura* is not of much importance as a *datum*, while the general *length of the verses in a sura* is supremely important. Again they utterly disagree with Muir's application of the fifth datum, attributing his conclusions to a theological prepossession which misled his judgment. Both Weil and Nöldeke agree that the Meccan suras can be arranged in groups with considerable confidence, but that their relative order within these groups is almost indeterminable.

Rodwell represents an independent study of the earlier suras, especially in regard to their subject-matter.

The arrangement from Arabic tradition is added as a matter of interest only.

3. **A Comparison of the Various Schemes.**—These schemes are not wholly at variance. They coincide on most important points. The Medina suras are reckoned substantially alike by all. All agree that Suras 96, 74, 111 were uttered during Muhammad's fortieth year, Muir's second period coinciding with the beginning of the first period of the other critics. The relative order of the separate suras varies considerably. By groups and periods there is a substantial unity, *e.g.*, the suras in the first three groups of Muir will be found for the most part in the first group of the others. Compare Nöldeke's interesting remark, *Geschichte*, pp. 58, 59.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

V. His Attitude Toward the Old Testament.

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Jesus takes his stand on the Old Testament — Old Testament not adequate to the needs of the world — incidental imperfections — revenge — ceremonial system. — Jesus' teaching the fulfilment of the Old Testament law — taught in his own personal life — in the absolute truths of religion — in the conservation of all that was of permanent value for religion — in the abrogation of the Old Testament system as such. — The practical effect of such teaching on Christian thought and life; — Christianity a wholly new garment with the permanent elements of Judaism woven in.

In his teaching Jesus takes his stand, as we have seen, upon the Old Testament. He has no new religion to introduce. He clearly foresaw that some of his disciples would suppose that it was his purpose to break with the Old Testament system, and he warned them against this serious mistake by telling them that any of them who should feel themselves free to break away from the Old Testament law, and should teach others accordingly, should "be called least in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:19). His constant manner of speaking in regard to the Jewish religion and Scriptures shows the reverence in which he held them. Some of the expressions which illustrate this reverence are: "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets" (Matt. 5:17); "The Scripture cannot be broken" (John 10:35); "That the Scripture might be fulfilled" (John 13:18).

There is in one of his parables a significant expression in regard to the gradual progress of his truth in the world: "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear" (Mark 4:28). This statement might be fitly applied to the whole process of revelation of which the Old Testament represents the earlier stages. It would as truly describe Jesus' idea of this process as it does the process to which he immediately applied

it. The Old Testament represents the first steps in a great course of revelation and redemption which reaches its consummation in Christ himself.

While, therefore, Jesus builds upon the Jewish religious system, he also builds far above and beyond it. While salvation, historically considered, is from the Jews, it is none the less necessary that the Jewish religion should be greatly elevated and enriched. The actual religion of the people, though embodying essential and permanent elements of true religion, is not adequate to the needs of the world; it must be further developed, supplemented, and completed at many points before it can become the universal, the absolute religion.

There were imperfections in the Jewish religion which were incidental to its character and purpose. It was in its very nature provisional and preparatory. It was adapted to an early and rude stage of human development. A convenient illustration is found in the principle of revenge which, within certain limits, the Old Testament sanctioned. "Ye have heard," said Jesus, "that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil," etc. (Matt. 5:38, 39). Another example is found in his conversation with the Pharisees when they asked him why, if a man and wife became one in marriage, Moses commanded to give a bill of divorcement." Jesus answered, "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it hath not been so. And I say unto you," etc. (Matt. 19:8).

Jesus undermined the whole ceremonial system of the Jews by his teaching that it is not what enters into a man which defiles him, but that it is that which proceeds out of him, that is, from his heart, which defiles him (Mark 7:15). The Levitical system of sacrifices could not long survive among those who accepted the principle of Jesus that "to love God with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbor as himself, is much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices" (Mark 12:33). It is obvious, then, that the actual effect of the gospel in doing away with the Jewish sacrificial and ceremonial system, was a natural and logical result of

the principles which Jesus laid down, and may be said to have been contemplated by him.

But the question now arises, Did Jesus intend to abrogate the whole Old Testament religious system, and, if so, by what means? This question also involves another, If he did do away with this system, how is the fact to be reconciled with his frequent assertion of its divineness? The most important passage, in its bearing on these problems, is Matt. 5:17: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." This passage must be read in the light of the explanations and applications which follow it. Jesus proceeds to say that not a jot or tittle shall pass away from the law,—a statement which, if read by itself, would seem to indicate the perpetual validity of the whole Old Testament system, ritual, sacrifices, and all. But to the statement in question he immediately adds: "till all things be fulfiled, or accomplished." He does not, therefore, say that no part of this system shall ever pass away (as it has done, and that, too, in consequence of his own teaching), but only that no part of it shall escape the process of fulfilment; that it shall not pass away till, having served its providential purpose, it is fulfilled in the gospel. What, now, is this fulfilment which is to be accomplished for the whole law, even for its least portions?

This question is not to be answered in a single sentence or definition. The fulfilment of the Old system by the New is a great historic process, the adequate understanding of which requires a careful study of the whole New Testament. Its salient features, however, may be briefly indicated. Jesus fulfils the Old Testament system by rounding out into ideal completeness what is incomplete in that system. In this process of fulfilment, all that is imperfect, provisional, temporary or, for any reason, needless to the perfect religion, falls away of its own accord, and all that is essential and permanent is conserved and embodied in Christianity. Some of the elements of this fulfilment are as follows:

(1) Jesus fulfils the law perfectly in his own personal life. The character of Jesus was the realization of the ideal which the

law contemplated. He was a perfectly righteous person, and it was righteousness which the law demanded and aimed to secure. But it is not merely or mainly the personal fulfilment of the law's ideal to which Jesus refers in saying that he came to fulfil the law.

(2) Jesus fulfilled the law in his teaching by setting forth therein the absolute truths of religion and the universal principles of goodness. This point may best be illustrated from the context of the passage under review. Our Lord says that the true righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees (vs. 20). Their righteousness consisted in the punctilious observance of the bare letter of the law, quite to the neglect of its spirit. Jesus then proceeds to show the difference between such external, superficial righteousness and that which corresponds to the law's true ideal. He says (vss. 21 *seq.*): You have in the Old Testament the commandment, Thou shalt not kill. It is commonly supposed that to refrain from the actual, overt act of murder is to keep that commandment, but I tell you that he only truly keeps it who refrains from anger and hate. In the sight of God, hate is the essence of murder. He thus finds the seat of all goodness, and of all sin in the heart, that is, in the sphere of the motives and the desires.

In like manner, he declares that the essence of adultery is in the lustful desire and the impure look. He thus makes righteousness an inward and moral affair. It depends upon the state of the heart. This truth he next illustrates by reference to a more subtle distinction (vss. 33–37). He cites the commandment which requires men to speak the truth, and to perform their vows unto God. It appears that under cover of this second requirement the Jews permitted themselves to make subtle distinctions between vows or oaths taken "to Jehovah," and those taken, for example, "by the heaven," or "by Jerusalem." Oaths taken in Jehovah's name were regarded as more sacred and binding than those not so taken, and thus an easy way was opened for disregarding the real sacredness of vows and promises. Jesus strikes at the root of all these hollow and dishonest distinctions, and discountenances altogether the use of oaths in apparent confirmation of

one's word. Such oaths, he says in effect, are either meaningless or irreverent. Let your simple word be enough. Esteem that to be as binding as if you had coupled your statement with Jehovah's name. The Jews had made the commandment of truthfulness an instrument of untruthfulness; Jesus insists upon a truthful heart which (to use a modern phrase) makes one's "word as good as his bond."

The illustrations of fulfilment thus far given are examples of the way in which Jesus penetrated in his teaching to the inner meaning of Old Testament precepts and exhibited their true ideal requirements, as against the superficial application of them which regarded them as relating to outward action only. Now, however, he takes an example of an Old Testament maxim to which in itself he objects: Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth (Ex. 21:24); but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil, etc. (vss. 38, 39). The maxim here cited was a part of the Mosaic system. It was a law of retaliation which magistrates were to apply under certain restrictions in the punishment of crimes; it was popularly applied to justify personal, private revenge. Unwarranted as the application was, we cannot justly say that it was this alone to which Jesus objected. The principle which he enunciates is certainly opposed to retaliation itself, though not to retribution. The rule that the wrongdoer was to suffer the same kind of an injury which he had done to another represented a rude kind of justice which was better than none; but it did not accord with the spirit of the teaching of Jesus.

As a final example of fulfilment he cited the commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor," and joined with it the popular addition which was derived by inference from it: "and hate thine enemy" (Matt. 5:43). By leaving off from the Old Testament requirement the words "as thyself," and by restricting the meaning of "neighbor" as much as possible, so as to make love to the "neighbor" suggest hatred of those who were not regarded as "neighbors," the Jews had completely perverted the true and natural sense of the passage in question. Jesus, on the contrary, sets forth the ideal import of the commandment and illustrates

and enforces the duty which it enjoins by showing that the love of God, which is the type of all true love, is not niggardly, but large and generous. He then concludes: "Ye therefore shall be perfect (that is, complete in love—generous, helpful and forgiving), as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5:48). These are examples of the way in which Jesus fulfilled the law in his teaching, both by rescuing its true import from the perversions and exaggerations to which the scribes had subjected it, also by recognizing the ethical imperfections in the law itself, and by replacing them by absolute principles of truth and right which are universally applicable.

(3) This fulfilment conserves all that is of permanent value and validity for religion in the Old Testament system. Jesus teaches that this whole system, in all its parts, is involved in the process of fulfilment. He did not illustrate in detail how the fulfilment applied to the various parts of the law. We must ascertain this from the nature of the Gospel and from the history and teaching which the New Testament records. How, for example, did he fulfil the sacrificial system? No doubt by realizing in his own life, sufferings, and death the true, ideal meaning of sacrifice. How did he fulfil that part of the law which seems strangest to us, the regulations respecting meats and drinks? These rules were, I suppose, partly hygienic and partly moral in their purpose. Does not Jesus fulfil them by the emphasis which he lays in his teaching upon purity, both of body and of soul? Whatever they included or suggested that was important for man's permanent well-being will be found to have been incorporated in the comprehensive principles of Jesus.

He fulfils the prophets by realizing their highest ideals of religion no less than by accomplishing their predictions. The great fact in this connection is that Jesus fulfils the Jewish history; in him the development of revealed religion culminates; he is its realization and its goal. The aspirations and hopes of the nation had been directed for centuries to some great consummation, some wonderful expansion of the kingdom of God; this Christ came to accomplish, but into its realization the Jewish nation, through blindness and perversity, did not largely enter.

(4) The process of fulfilment involves the passing away of the Old Testament system as such. As the fulfilling of the blossom by the fruit involves the passing away of the former, so does the New system replace the Old. This view of the matter is abundantly recognized in the teaching of our Lord and his apostles. He described his truth as new wine which must not be put into the old bottles of Judaism (Matt. 9:17). He said that his gospel was not merely a new patch which was to be sewed onto the old garment of the law; it was rather a new garment complete and sufficient in itself (Matt. 9:16). In entire accord with this teaching Paul says that Christians are "not under the law" (Rom. 6:14), and he exhorts the Colossians not to allow anyone to sit in judgment upon their liberty in regard to the observance of the various parts of the Jewish system, which, he says, are a "shadow of the things to come" (Col. 2:16, 17). In teaching that the Old Testament system is done away in Christ, the Epistle to the Hebrews is especially explicit; indeed the whole force of the argument rests upon this idea. The writer quotes a passage from Jeremiah in which the giving of a new covenant is promised, and adds: "In that he saith, A new *covenant*, he hath made the first old. But that which is becoming old and waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away" (Heb. 8:13). The point here is that the very idea of a *new* covenant which, according to the prophet, was not to be like the covenant which God had made with the fathers, implied its final abrogation.

It is certainly a matter of great interest to observe that the prophets themselves discerned the temporary character of their own cultus. What religion, besides Judaism, ever predicted its own passing away? One of the most significant facts of prophecy is that the loftiest spirits in the nation were led to look for the dawning of larger truth, and for a more complete form of the kingdom of God.

But when it is said that the Old Testament system is abrogated in the New, it is of capital importance to observe that the New replaces the Old, not by destruction, but by fulfilment. The New does not reject and discard the Old; it preserves and embodies it, just so far as it has elements of permanent value

for the world's religion. The fulfilment is, therefore, an organic process; the New comes out of the Old by a natural and orderly process of development. In that process what is unessential falls away of its own accord, while all that is essential and permanently useful is taken up into Christianity, more completely developed and applied, and reinforced by higher motives on the plane of broader principles.

This subject is a very practical one in its bearing upon Christian thought and life. Speaking generally, the Christian world has never very clearly perceived what was its relation to the Old Testament religion. How discordant and inconsistent have been the prevailing views on this subject. Commonly some rough distinction has been made between those parts of the system which were supposed to be binding and those from which the Christian was believed to be free, but this distinction rested on no well-defined principle whatever. The discrimination has ordinarily been perfectly arbitrary, having no better grounds than those of practical convenience. Let me illustrate. No Christians, in our time, hold that they must observe the Old Testament rules respecting meats and drinks, or suppose that they are bound to observe the sacrificial system. But this was not always so. In the apostolic church there was a large party who held that it was necessary for the Christian even to keep the whole law of Moses in order to be saved (see, *e.g.*, Acts 15:1). Their view was that Christianity was a kind of addition or appendix to Judaism and that their former religion, in all its particulars, was in full force and perpetually binding. Paul had his sharpest conflicts with this party. He showed that they were quite consistent, though consistently wrong. In insisting on the necessity of a continued observance of circumcision, they logically committed themselves to the keeping of the whole law. But it was impossible that Christians should long continue to observe the whole Mosaic ritual, and the effort to do so was less and less consistently made.

In modern times we not infrequently find Christians who have conscientiously placed themselves under some part of the Old system, believing that it is binding upon them. Who has not

heard Christian men argue that the law of tithes was still binding, or that the Jewish Sabbath-day (our Saturday) was of perpetual obligation? Some Christians have separated themselves from their brethren and organized separate churches because they believed that it was obligatory upon Christians in all ages to sing in public worship only the hymns which were sung in Old Testament times. Some have discarded pipe organs because there were no pipe organs in the Jewish temple, although it would seem from the Psalms that every kind of musical instrument known to the time *was* in use there.

It is much more common to make a distinction between the ceremonial and the moral parts of the law, and to suppose that, while the former are done away, the latter are still binding upon Christians. But this distinction is recognized neither in the Old nor in the New Testament; it is a modern division of the law which is quite convenient and natural for us, but one of which a quite unwarrantable use is commonly made. Christ did not fulfil a part of the law merely, but the whole of it. He does not complete the ritual part of the Old Testament alone, but all its moral parts as well. This is but to say that it was not merely the ritual element of the law which was imperfect and temporary, but the moral element as well. Many a moral maxim and practice of the Old Testament, as we have seen, was below the plane of Jesus' ideal morality. If he fulfils the system in all its parts, then must the system *as such* pass away. And this is the fact in the case. On no other supposition can the New Testament references to the subject be naturally explained; on no other view can a clear definition be given of the relation of the two Testaments.

On hearing this view of the matter stated the question will naturally arise in many minds, Is the Old Testament, then, destroyed? I answer, It is not *destroyed*, but it has been *fulfilled*. On this distinction between destruction and fulfilment turns my whole view of the question at issue. The fulfilment is, by its very nature, a conserving process; it rejects nothing which it can use by embodying it in its perfect result. All the essentials of the Old Testament are preserved in the New, and it is as parts

of the gospel of Christ that they belong to us and are binding upon us. The Old Testament system as such we are not under; in other words, we are under only so much of it as has been taken up and incorporated in Christianity, and we are under that because it is a part of Christianity, not because it is a part of the Old Testament religion. But some one will ask, Are we not under the authority of the ten commandments? I reply, In their Old Testament form and as part of that system, we are not; else should we be bound to observe Saturday as a day of rest and worship, instead of Sunday, since the fourth commandment requires the sanctifying of the seventh day. The main substance of the ten commandments consists of changeless principles of righteousness and is therefore a part of Christianity; in that sense we are under the commandments, and in no other. The duty to obey parents, for example, is just as urgently inculcated in the gospel as in the commandments, and is, of course, perpetually binding, but the reason by which it is enforced in the Old Testament — that by obedience one may win a long residence in the land of Canaan — is not at all applicable to us.

The truth which we have been considering, stated on its positive side, is that Christianity is complete and sufficient in itself as a guide to faith and action. The whole truth of the matter is in that most expressive figure of Jesus to which we have referred: His gospel is not a patch to be sewed on the old garment of Judaism, but a wholly new garment. We might carry out the figure a step further by saying — quite in harmony with his thought — that into the texture of that garment have been woven all the elements of Judaism which are adapted to become parts of its permanent and perfect structure.

While, then, we are not under the old system at all, it must always have the greatest value in helping us to understand historically its own fulfilment in Christianity. To speak in Paul's language, the Old Testament is glorious, but not with "the glory that surpasseth" (2 Cor. 3:10), that is, it has its true glory in the fact that its mission was to prepare for and to usher in a more perfect system. It was glorious, not so much in itself, as in the great end which it contemplated.

In this view it will be seen that the old system could well be both temporary and divine. Its glory lay in the very fact that it was to give itself up to decay in order that from it, as from the seed, a larger life might spring. Had this truth been clearly seen by the church of the apostolic age, many great controversies and alienations would have been avoided. It was naturally hard for those who had been reared and trained as Jews to see the sufficiency and independence of Christianity and to recognize the complementary truth that the Jewish religion had waxed old and was ready to vanish away. It required a vision to convince Peter of the largeness and newness of the gospel, and even then he does not seem to have stayed convinced. The whole dispute about circumcision which so tried the soul of the apostle Paul would have been settled in an instant if all could have seen Christ's truth of fulfilment. It was incapable of real settlement except upon Paul's bold principle that the Christian is not under the law, either in whole or in part.

Our Lord seems to have foreseen the perplexity and friction which this question would make among his followers and to have described the situation in parabolic language when he said: "No man having drunk old wine desireth new: for he saith, The old is good" (Luke 5:39). His meaning evidently was that men would find it hard to adapt themselves to his higher standards and ideals after having been so long used to other and lower ones. The natural and, within limits, useful conservatism of men in religion often prevents them from rising to higher standpoints and dulls their minds to the perception of new truth. A blind attachment to the old, in the conviction that it represented the full and final truth, proved a great hindrance to the spread and full reception of the gospel in the apostolic age.

In conclusion I can do no better than to commend to the student of this subject a careful study of that remarkable prophecy of Jeremiah to which reference has been made, in regard to the new and more perfect covenant which God will give to his people (Jer. 31:31–34); and in connection with this passage, the use which is made of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews (8:8–13) should also be carefully observed.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

RESULTS AND MISSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

By Rev. George T. Candlin,
Tien Tsin, China.

The question, "What are the results of the Parliament of Religions?" is continually raised, and the mere fact that it is raised proves that it had results of the most important kind. It is no small result that it has set the world questioning. The resultless soon becomes the forgotten, but the Parliament cannot be forgotten. The founding of the important Haskell Lectureship is one among many strong pledges that it cannot. We could count many others, if need be. The life of every man who was a partaker in the great gathering is a pledge. It cannot be forgotten while any of us live, and long before we have all finished our course there will have come other things for us to remember it by.

The Parliament of Religions in Chicago has become an epoch in my own intellectual life, as doubtless it has in that of many others. I have thought much during the past year of the nature and magnitude of the work which it left on our hands. Our problem seems to me to be twofold. We have first to aim at harmony of religious sentiment, irrespective altogether of religious belief, such as can be expressed in intellectual propositions. If we wait for unity until we all think alike, we shall wait a long time. There is, therefore, a large work of conciliation, mutual tolerance, earnest recognition of *good intention* on the part of all religious men whether within or without Christendom, which has to be done. The central fact we have to grasp with the hand of assured conviction is the good which lies at the heart of every religion, however erroneous the intellectual propositions it stands connected with, and however superstitious the practices by which the ignorant seek to express it. The fact can never be shaken; it is a demonstrable fact. The inward and true intent of every faith the world has known has been the worshipful recognition of the divine; that is the sure and sufficient ground on which to rest the claim for union.

But, second, I recognize the intellectual problem involved. Permanent union cannot be effected without a basis in the realm of thought, as men cannot be fast friends for long if their convictions on vital questions tend to contradiction. I would put the whole question thus: Unity of thought is a final necessity for binding the religious world in a lasting fellowship. Unity of thought can only be had by a friendly and sympathetic comparison of ideas.

This friendly and sympathetic comparison can only come by a certain common sentiment, and united sentiment is in turn dependent upon the steady acknowledgment of good intention. The intellectual problem will therefore be found in the long run the gist of the matter. It is one of enormous intricacy and difficulty, but I am looking to the Haskell Lectureship to do much for its solution. If I have an ambition in life it is that I may be able to add some small contribution to the great end. We must be careful to base our solution on ground that is as sure as the ages. For instance, we must be careful how we lean it on metaphysics. Every religious system which has based itself on metaphysics (and I am not sure but they all have) has failed because the metaphysics themselves have broken down. Dr. Carus's movement is admirable in intent. As I understand it, he is seeking a demonstrable system of mental philosophy which will at once agree with modern science and form a support to religion. May he succeed! But the fate of every system of ontology ever yet formed is an ominous circumstance for us to remember. It is precisely the metaphysics which are our greatest stumbling-block. I can accept Buddhism, as Mr. Dharmapala would have me, if by Buddhism is meant the pure life and self-denying example and ethical maxims of Gautama. I can even go further and recognize him as a divine messenger to the Hindu people, and, in that sense, be a believer in his *religion*. But not if it means a belief in the metempsychosis, in uncountable Kalpas, in Nirvana as a state neither of life nor of death. All this is a metaphysical maze, which, because of certain common thought-forms, or categories (to use a term of the old logicians) prevalent through all these eastern peoples, appears to them quite natural and consequent, but to me, argue it as he will, it can never be other than a mere farrago of metaphysical nonsense; and I hold that to every level-headed man of European extraction it must forever appear the same. In the same way I have no doubt that the discussions of Christian divines concerning personality in the Deity, or the hypostatic union, or the human soul as an entity, are to him alike obnoxious as involving impossibilities. I therefore do not look for any help from metaphysical reasonings of whatever kind, my hope being that religion may do what science has already done, cut adrift from metaphysics altogether.

To turn to another aspect of the question, it seems to me our only hope of getting any serious recognition of the value of the non-Christian faiths within the ranks of Christendom lies in the abandonment of the claim to an *exclusive revelation* through the medium of the Bible as a book verbally inspired. That undoubtedly is a doctrine much venerated in certain quarters, which the Reformation did much to foster and which is very dear to Scotch divines. But recent discussions on inspiration are shaking it to its foundations, and we may rejoice that thus one of the strongest barriers is being taken out of our way. For, however venerable it may be, so long as we hold that this Book alone contains the revealed will of God, we are on partial, not universal, ground, and even peace, still less conciliation, is impossible. It

seems to me what we have to safeguard is the truths of inspiration and of revelation themselves, the Bible being a record of them, but not therefore to the exclusion of revelation elsewhere. Our safe foothold is that inspiration is not a thing packed up in a book, but a divine influence on the human mind and that the Divine Spirit is universal.

I look with great hope upon our movement. On all sides in the world of thought, as well as in that of action, there are grateful signs that while the present is only partially with us the future wholly is. All the changes going on about us, the drift of thought in scientific, in literary, in political, in religious circles (and these last I am apt to think the most conservative of all) make for our success. "The stars in their courses" fight for us.

The History of the Parliament of Religions will help continue the good influence already set in motion. This work takes a unique place among the books of the world in two respects, which are of supreme importance. (1) There is a point of view from which the earnest believer in any religion views the faith which is precious to him, and which renders it to him at once so credible and so excellent that it commands his unbounded admiration. To sympathetically understand his religion, we must, at least temporarily, see it from his point of view, This book alone of books enables us to see all the great religions of the world in this manner. (2) For practical purposes, there is an enormous difference between a religion as we are able to conceive it at some stage of its development, through a millennium of history, and the religion as it is held vitally, in the present, by its recognized leaders and champions. This work is the only considerable collection of material which will enable us to understand what all the faiths of the world are now, and what is their value as forces which make for human well-being and spiritual comfort. Just as the Parliament of Religions gave us not the Christianity of Augustine or Aquinas or Calvin, but of the present hour, so it gave us not the Hinduism of Gautama's time or the Buddhism of Asoka's, or the Confucianism of Chu Hsi, or the Taoism of Chuang Tzu, but of the men who in the present hour carry the lamp into the unexplored future. It must be, therefore, the best text-book of Comparative Religion.

The Parliament is fresher in my mind and its objects are certainly dearer to my heart than ever. I feel confident that the memory of that great assembly will have a most potent influence on our lives. Chicago will be the Mount Tabor of our experience, and the holy impulse of those transfigured hours will not be spent while life shall last. I shall be full of the spirit so finely expressed by Shakespeare in Henry V., before Agincourt:

> "And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we, in it, shall be remembered,
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.
> And he that hears
> Shall hold his manhood cheap while any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day."

Bible Study in College.

PRINCETON COLLEGE.

The President of the College has the general supervision of the department of Biblical Instruction. This year the following courses are offered:

1. One hour a week required study of the Bible for the Freshman class. This year the course is in General Introduction to the New Testament, under the direction of the Rev. L. B. Cram, who at present holds the New Testament Fellowship of the Theological Seminary.

2. A two-hour elective course open (both terms) to Juniors and Seniors. The course for the first term this year (September–February, '94-'95) was on the History of the Chosen People.

3. Four classes conducted under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. of the college form a progressive course in Bible study. The Freshman class meets every Sunday afternoon at four o'clock in the study of the Life of Christ, under the leadership of the general secretary, James R. Swain. Attendance about thirty. The Sophomore class in Bible study consists of a central training class where the head leader teaches the lesson to several teachers of small classes. Their subject is the Lives of the Apostles, and the leader is Mr. F. Evans, '97. The Juniors are also studying through the central training class and meet weekly under the leadership of Cochran, '96, in study of the Teachings of Christ. The Senior class meets in a body, as do the Freshmen, under Crane, '91, instructor in the College, in the study of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Old Testament.

These courses provide means of covering the Bible quite comprehensively, in consideration of the fact that each class is supposed to graduate from one into the other as it rises from the first year of college to the fourth. The total number of those engaged in this study is about one hundred and twenty-five, or nearly one-fourth of the entire membership of the Association.

In general, there has been a great increase of interest in the Bible study of the Association this year over that of other years. The students are holding to the courses as they have not done before, and the interest is lively and accumulative. This is sustained in part probably by the fact that we devote now and then a Thursday evening meeting to a speaker on some topic of Bible study. Thus far we have had Dr. Gregg of Brooklyn and Dr. Stewart of Harrisburg. The course also is new, and special attention is paid to the work, as though to make it an essential part of the Association.

There is also a class in the study of the Missionary Idea developed historically, and the first half of this year's study has been very largely con-

fined to the revelation and progressive development of the idea in the Bible, Old and New Testament. This class also meets weekly, consists of about twenty-five members and is led by the general secretary. It was organized primarily for the "Volunteers," and with a view to providing any member of the Association or College with some knowledge of the subject as helpful to a choice of life-work.

Dr. Patton hopes next year himself to offer a course to the Sophomore class, and it is his intention to enlarge and strengthen the department as fast as circumstances allow.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

There are three classes at Columbia College for general Bible study:

1. The University and Law School men meet at 9:30 on Mondays for the study of the Life of Christ. There are eight in the class.

2. The School of Arts men meet at 1:45 on Tuesdays for the study of the Old Testament History. There are eight members.

3. The School of Mines men meet Wednesdays at 1:30 for the study of the Life of Christ. There are six in the class, which is under the direction of Professor Hamlin.

More detailed courses in the Bible are as follows:

New Testament in Greek. Epistles (Westcott and Hort's Text). One hour. Dr. Young.

New Testament in Greek. Gospels and Acts. One hour. Dr. Young.

Readings from the Vulgate. Two hours. Dr. Egbert.

Tertullian: The Liber Apologeticus. Two hours. Dr. Egbert.

Biblical Hebrew: Elementary course. Two hours. Professor Gottheil.

Biblical Hebrew: Deuteronomy. Two hours. Professor Gottheil.

Biblical Hebrew: Hosea, critically. Two hours. Professor Gottheil.

In addition to these, nearly all the courses in Hebrew and in Greek at the Union Theological Seminary are open to our University students.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

By CLARENCE S. MCINTIRE.

The study of the Bible as regards its language, literature and teaching will appear from the following description of the courses at this University relating thereto:

In the Department of Philosophy.

Hebrew (Professor Morris Jastrow):

(First term) (1) Study of the Book of the Prophet *Micah.* Chief attention will be paid to the study of the text in comparison with the ancient versions. (2) The Book of *Judges.*

(Second term) (1) Natural Study of Texts and Versions. *Judges* (historical) for undergraduates. (2) Selections from *Genesis*, with Hebrew Grammar.

Hebrew (Professor Hilprecht):

(1) Exodus. (2) One Minor Prophet (Hosea ?).

Aramaic (Professor Morris Jastrow):

(1) Biblical Aramaic — Book of *Daniel*, with Aramaic Grammar.

In the College Department.

A course in the Literary Study of the English Bible, by Dr. Josiah H. Penniman (Instructor in English). Course beginning February 16, 1895, and continuing each Saturday morning. (This course is one of a series of "Saturday morning classes designed for teachers" and called "Teachers' Courses.")

There is no Undergraduate Bible Study, either required or elective.

In the Young Men's Christian Association — 1894–5.

One course for Third-year Medical Students: A Devotional Study of the Life of Christ. Prepared by Sallmon of Yale. Taught by a student — Mr. J. F. Griggs.

One course for Second-year Medical Students: A Devotional Study of the Life of Christ. Sallmon of Yale. Taught by a student — Mr. J. F. Sinclair.

One course for First-year Medical Students: Christ Among Men, by James McConaughy, of the Mount Hermon School. (This is a training course for personal work.) Taught by the Secretary of the Association — C. S. McIntire.

I think it probable that the University will offer, before long, courses (elective) in the English Bible for undergraduates. There is not at present enough done along these lines. This Association will undoubtedly have opportunity when thoroughly settled in the new students' building, Houston Hall (which will open next autumn), to offer several courses of Bible study, designed to meet all the classes of students of the institution.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE SAMARITAN DOCTRINE OF THE MESSIAH. By A. COWLEY, in the *Expositor* for March, 1895, pp. 161–174.

A Samaritan hymn for the Day of Atonement first published by Heidenheim in 1887 has recently been discussed by Hilgenfeld. This hymn was written by Abisha ben Pinhas, who died in 1376. It predicts the coming of the Taheb who shall bring in an era of peace for Israel, *i. e.*, the Samaritans. "Israel shall dwell safely freed from his fear; and shall keep his feasts in peace and bring his offerings. Then gladness shall be restored, and all nations shall be subdued. . . . . Then shall nothing be hid any more, either above or below. . . . Oh, that mine eye had seen the Taheb and his majesty! Peace from me be upon him! May he attain unto his prophecy! May he enter into his camp! May he come unto his victory! May he overshadow his habitation! Peace be upon him! until his entering into his house! Peace be upon him! and upon his father, the pure, from whom he shall arise and receive his gifts. The peace of God be upon Moses, son of Amram, and his prayer: who revealed to us in his book this mystery and the secrets of it. He who says 'Is there any prophet like to Moses?' shall see what is his (the Taheb's) greatness." The term Taheb was interpreted by Gesenius as meaning *the restorer*, and this is doubtless correct. He is not to be identified with Moses or Joshua returned, but is the restorer of the kingdom of Israel. Another hymn for the Day of Atonement, about a century later than the one above referred to, also refers to the Taheb and contrasts the "former kingdom" under Joshua with the "second kingdom" which is to come.

To understand the doctrine of the Taheb, one should remember also the Samaritan doctrine of the Rachuthah (from *rachah*), the time of favor, and the Phanuthah (from *phanah, to turn away*), the time of displeasure. The former ended with the disappearance of the tabernacle, 260 years after the entry into Canaan. The latter is still in progress. The Taheb is evidently to restore the original prosperity and divine favor. The time of his coming is uncertain. He is always longed for and looked for. He is in no sense divine. When he dies (according to Petermann he is to live 110 years) he is to be gathered to his people, and be buried in a secret place. The period of his lifetime and of the age immediately following is to be a sort of millenium, to be succeeded however by a period of divine wrath. The description of this latter time reminds one of the days of tribulation described in Matt., chap. 24, but with this difference, that it is not succeeded by a second advent. Instead there comes the great and terrible day of the Lord.

There are clear parallels between this Taheb doctrine of the Samaritan

liturgies, and the conversation of Jesus with the woman of Samaria in John 4:7–42. The Jews are the typical enemies of the Samaritans; Jerusalem and Gerizim stand opposed; when the Taheb comes nothing is hid any more (*cf.* John 4:23, etc.). There is no probability that any of the liturgies were contemporary with St. John, but they probably preserve a type of doctrine which in its main character is even older than the first century. In Marqah, a Samaritan writer of the fourth century, though the indications are scanty, the doctrine seems to be taken for granted. That it is not present in the Samaritan Targum is probably due to the fact that its oral transmission dated from a time earlier than the rise of the Taheb doctrine.

This account of the Messianic ideas of the Samaritans is interesting and suggestive, especially in the parallelism between these ideas and those incidentally attributed to the Samaritans in the Fourth Gospel. The lateness of the evidence, however — a liturgy of the fourteenth century, a liturgy of the fifteenth century, and a fourth century writer by whom "the doctrine seems to be taken for granted," though the Targum of about the same time gives no evidence of it — greatly impairs its value as independent testimony to the pre-Christian Messianic ideas of the Samaritans. Its coincidence with the testimony of the Fourth Gospel so far as it goes is noteworthy, but can hardly be said to make that testimony much more certain than it is standing alone. Mr. Cowley's opinion that the Taheb doctrine took definite form among the Samaritans in the Maccabean period seems, to one who knows the evidence only at second-hand, to be scarcely more than a hazardous conjecture. E. D. B.

THE SOCIAL ETHICS OF JESUS. By PROFESSOR JOHN S. SEWALL, D.D., in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1895.

Was Jesus a social reformer? Did he come to regenerate the individual or to rectify the community?

In answer to these questions some things are to be ruled out at the start.

Jesus was neither a statesman nor a political economist. He neither legislated nor led a party. He entered upon no crusade against the social evils of his day, nor did he provide special laws against the evils of future days. Such terms as communism, chartism, landlordism, nationalization of land, anti-monopoly, competition, coöperation are foreign to his vocabulary. He preached neither anarchy nor rebellion. He counseled the payment of taxes, he obeyed laws, he conformed to customs.

Thus evidently Jesus was not an agitator. He would not take social problems by assault. His whole attention was centered upon founding a spiritual kingdom, and upon so founding it that forces which should start within the individual should reach out through him into society. These forces are to be seen in the great principles which Jesus laid down.

He taught the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. God made man, and therefore all mankind is his family. But the relationship is not so much in the blood as in the common humanity. There

is a unity of being and a unity of aim. The law of this human fraternity is the golden rule, which if once obeyed carries with itself the end of social evils. Nor is it to be limited to neighbors, but enemies also are to be loved. Men are always to be treated on the high principles of divine compassion.

Here lies the explanation of the difficult precepts about non-resistance. The examples he gives to illustrate these precepts were not expected by Jesus to be taken literally. Society on this basis would be chaos. The good would be at the mercy of the bad. Nothing could be more absurd. Jesus himself obeys no such rule. The precepts look to the formation of an age when non-resistance will be possible because there will be no enemies.

Jesus not only extends the golden rule to all classes of men, but he elevates it into the Christian law of service. As he came to minister and not to be ministered to, so are all members of his kingdom to serve all men, thus rising to a higher plane than that even of the golden rule.

How now did Jesus expect his disciples to work out these principles? In general, he trusted to spiritual evolution — the method of the leaven. More specifically, however, he dealt with certain phases of social life whenever there is need. Thus in regard to the unit of society — the family, Jesus does not give specific rules as to how it is to be brought into an ideal state. If its members follow the golden rule that ideal will come naturally. Yet he felt the need of attacking the enemy of the family — divorce. In regard to this, his instructions are absolute and inexorable.

Further in regard to wealth, Jesus' attitude is sometimes severe. Wealth he regards as of small account. Life is not made up of "things." Wealth brings great dangers to its owner, dangers to be overcome only by self-denial and charity. Jesus, therefore, regards the rich as stewards holding a position full of both temptation and opportunity.

On the other hand Jesus was very tender to the poor. It was among them that most of his work was accomplished. But here again we see his contempt of a view that makes life consists of "things," and his desire to raise men to the same high level. They are to trust their heavenly Father and lay up their treasures in heaven.

What now are the effects which we should expect to find produced in society by the presence of the kingdom? While Jesus does not attack many evils specifically, he was not blind to them. But he was content to expend his time and labor on the kingdom, knowing that spiritual forces set in motion would bring order out of chaos. If he dealt especially with the individual, it was because within such a method lay greater results than in the formulation of some great sociological system. Spiritual life, like leaven, communicates itself not *en masse*, but from atom to atom. Every regenerate mind is a germ-cell of the leaven of righteousness.

The results of this method of Christ are already great. In Christian lands the social forces are largely Christianized. Perhaps moral enlightenment has not kept pace with the secular and commercial, but results here also are

great. There is such a thing as a national conscience that has put down and is putting down evils. Much of today's legislation is inspired by principles of eternal right. The latter half of the nineteenth century has been pervaded by a larger sense of human brotherhood than any other period of history.

This article illustrates both the possibility and the limitation of a non-exegetical method of dealing with the teachings of Christ. In many particulars it shows insight and an instinctive grasp of the essentials in Christ's teachings that raises it to a high level among the increasing literature of its class. Its statement of the problem is accurate, its logical analysis is thorough. It marks an advance towards the realization of the new legend the *Bibliotheca Sacra* has inscribed upon its cover, "A Religious and Sociological Quarterly." Yet it is marked by the traits of weakness that seem inherent in any handling of the Scripture in a "systematic" rather than exegetic method. The first question to be answered, What does Jesus really mean by the terms kingdom of God, Father in Heaven, brother, neighbor? as well as the connected question, Has Jesus anywhere recognized society as a separate entity for which he gives special teachings, or does he regard it as an aggregate of individuals? — these two questions are unnoticed. We are interested to learn the evidence upon which is based the dictum that is the basis of the whole discussion: "Jesus taught the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man." Is it to be found in explicit statement or in a fundamental assumption? S. M.

THE BAPTIST'S MESSAGE TO JESUS. Matt. 11:2–19, Luke 7:18–35. By the REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D., in the *Expositor* for March, 1895.

An unbiased reader of these accounts would naturally judge that John was in doubt as to the Messiahship of Jesus. It is impossible to avoid this conclusion by making the mission of the disciples wholly for their own benefit, or for the purpose of quickening the Messianic consciousness within Jesus. The problem is a genuine one and demands more legitimate methods of solution.

It was not John's personal misfortunes that clouded his faith, as indeed Jesus emphatically made clear to the people. It was rather the failure of Jesus to agree with his misconceptions as to the mission of the Messiah. While John expected a king and a revolution, the only tidings of the Christ that reached him in his prison was the monotonous news of a few lepers cleansed, a few blind men restored to sight. Why was Jesus thus content to go about talking to uninfluential sinners, dining, healing, while the nation grew impatient for a king?

With such feelings preying on his mind, John sent his disciples to Jesus — not in doubt as to his being the Messiah, but rather as to the Messiah's behavior. His difficulty was precisely that which today keeps many earnest men of the working class from believing in Christ. He claims to be king, the friend of the poor and lowly, yet generation after generation of the oppressed pass away and he gives no sign. Too often such men turn in disappointment from him to "another."

The answer of Jesus becomes now intelligible. He knew the real worth of John's heart and devotion. His questioning doubt was worth far more than the easy assent of the crowd. The Christ shows the real nature of his work to John's disciples and then, turning to the people, both clears John's character of any suspicion of fickleness, and suggests to them that while his herald may not wholly approve of the methods of the Christ, they approve the methods of neither.

Such a view of John's difficulty in addition gives a clue to the interpretation of the somewhat obscure passage: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." These words do not signify "ardent multitudes seize on the kingdom as on the plunder of a city," for there never was displayed any such zeal. Rather the words are to be interpreted in the light of John 6:15, when the people sought to make Jesus a king. It is most natural to suppose that by the kingdom "being done violence to" Jesus meant that the people, excited by the Baptist's preaching, sought forcibly to establish the kingdom he proclaimed. Hence the relevancy of introducing the words into the apology for the Baptist — for he too, apparently, was anxious to take the kingdom by violence. Thus this saying of Jesus is again but a proclamation of the spiritual nature of his kingdom.

The point of the little parable of the children in the market-place is obvious.

This article is an exceedingly good example of what may be called the historico-exegetical process of translating the thought and circumstances of the first century into those of the nineteenth. For so far from letting his practical purpose run away with his exegesis, Professor Dods has made it a means of illustration.

On purely exegetical grounds, much can be said in favor of the view thus presented. It is, however, not altogether free from objections, and on the following grounds: (1) John's conception of the rôle of the Christ, so far as we can judge it from the considerable material at hand, was not so much that of a revolutionary king as of a judge of an unholy Israel. It is exceedingly difficult to discover in John's words any clear expectation on his part of a political cataclysm. There was to be a winnowing and a burning, but no revolution.

(2) Professor Dods does not make clear the causal relation between the 'prophesying until John" and the storming of the kingdom.

(3) Nor does his view give the most natural significance to the deeds of Christ which constituted his answer to John (Matt. 11:4, 5; Luke 7:21). Evidently these are an appeal to the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah (*e. g.* 35:5 and 61:1), and while they may have been intended to correct a misconception as to the Christ's behavior, they seem more fitted to dispel a doubt as to the Messiahship of Jesus which was the outgrowth of such a misconception.

(4) Further, a simple and, because it gives more weight to these three fundamental elements of the context, more natural interpretation of the passage Matt. 11:12–14 seems not altogether impossible.

John had conceived of the Messiah as a judge, a champion of the righteous and a

punisher of the wicked. The kingdom was to begin with the hewing down of unfruitful trees and the burning of the chaff. But Jesus had not answered to this conception. He had, it is true, been the denouncer of hypocrisy, but he had not brought down upon hypocrites the punishment of heaven. The imprisoned, suffering John began to doubt if one differing thus radically from his expectations could be the Christ. His doubt was the outgrowth of a mistaken criterion, and was not of the Christ's behavior, but of the Messiahship of Jesus. At least so much seems implied by the answer of Jesus to the disciples (Matt. 11 : 4, 5)—practically our only datum for judging of John's state of mind.

In the light of this explanation of the cause of John's inquiry, the words of Jesus to the multitude are clear. His theme is (*a*) the defence of John against the natural charge of fickleness (Matt. 11 : 7–9, Luke 7 : 24–26); (*b*) a tribute to the supreme position of John in the old order of things, although it was not to be compared with the privileges of those who live in the new (Matt. 11 : 9–11, Luke 7 : 27–29); (*c*) an appreciation of the difficulty experienced by both John and others in accepting him as the Messiah because of their wrong preconceptions as to the Messianic office and character (Matt. 11 : 12–14).

The chief exegetical difficulty lies in the last point. The clue to its solution lies in the relation of vss. 12 and 13. This relation is casual. The fact that John as the expected Elijah marks the culmination of the prophetical stage — that the prophets and the law prophesied till his day — is asserted to be the explanation for the taking of the kingdom by violent men. That is, until John's day, men believed easily the prophecy of a future Messiah; but he had preached that the Messiah had come. Prophecy was now changed to fulfillment. But an almost insurmountable difficulty lay in realizing and acknowledging such a fulfillment of prophecy in the unanticipated character of Jesus of Nazareth. The evidences that he had given of himself up to the time of the embassy from John had not been overwhelmingly convincing. It was harder than ever before to believe in the Christ. Doubt was natural in the few months between the day when John made proclamation that Christ had come, and the day when Jesus's Messiahship was sealed by God in the revelation to Peter and the resurrection from the dead. The influence of the prophets grew weak, the full evidence of the Christ was as yet not given. Preconceptions and prejudices were mighty. One must struggle if one would believe this Nazarene was the Messiah. The tense of ἁρπάζουσιν is not a conative but a simple present, expressing the fact of the difficulty by which men of faith apprehended the real nature of the Messiah and his kingdom. The kingdom was entered only by those who fought against the doubts that sprang from misconceptions and incomplete evidence. They seized the kingdom as a storming party a city.

Thus did Jesus excuse the apparently wavering faith of his herald, account for the small number of his genuine disciples, and honor the strong faith of those few who, like Nathaniel, had, despite their prejudices, received him as the Christ.

S. M.

Notes and Opinions.

A New Interpretation of Gal. 3:19, 20.—Dean Campbell, of England, in a recent volume entitled *Studies in Biblical and Ecclesiastical Subjects*, attempts to find a satisfactory meaning for this passage, which the Revised Version does not illuminate, and the current interpretation of which does not seem to be final. Who is "the mediator" to whom Paul refers? Is it Moses, according to prevalent understanding, or some one else? Dean Campbell regards Christ as "the mediator" referred to, and his interpretation therefore reads: "It (the Law) was ordained (or *administered*) through angels by the hand of a mediator. Now this (the) mediator is not a mediator of one (covenant); but God is one." What he understands the apostle to say is that the Law was administered through angels, but by the hand or power of a mediator, and that this mediator, being Christ himself, was thus the mediator not of the Promise only, but of the Law also. For the Law and the Promise are not antagonistic; neither is the Law antagonistic to the better covenant that is to follow. Christ is the Mediator or Intercessor between God and man under the Law as under the Promise and under the Gospel. There is but one Person with whom man has ever to do. There is but one Mediator between them. And as it is the same God always, so also is it always the same Mediator. Or, as the apostle again, and very plainly, puts it to Timothy: "For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. 2:5). The *Expository Times* for March discusses the passage, and Dean Campbell's interpretation of it, at some length editorially, and from that the above paragraph is taken. The new conception of the passage deserves consideration.

The Trinitarian Baptismal Formula, Matt. 28:19.—Dr. Resch, in his recent *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, has something to say upon this subject. It is given in brief by Professor J. T. Marshall, in reviewing Dr. Resch's book in the *Critical Review* for January, with the comment that it "is perhaps the most valuable piece of work in the whole volume." Dr. Resch says substantially: "It seems to be regarded as an axiom in some theological circles that these words ('baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost') cannot be the literal words of the Lord Jesus, but are 'a comparatively late product of the dogmatic development of the church.'" But Dr. Resch gives fourteen pages of quotations from very early Christian literature, orthodox and heretical, showing the universal use of this formula. After this collection of evidence he sums up the arguments for the authenticity of the words as follows: (1)

In the ministry of John the Baptist the trinitarian conception is discernible: "God is able from these stones," etc.; "He that cometh after me is mightier than I;" "He shall baptize in the Holy Spirit." (2) The trinitarian parallels in apostolic writings to be considered in another work not yet published. (3) Quotations from the oldest patristic literature, beginning with Clement of Rome, who has three palpably trinitarian passages, of which one is, "We have one God and one Christ and one Spirit of Grace who was shed upon us." Ignatius has four passages equally explicit. Then comes the *Didaché*, which gives us the earliest citation of the baptismal formula outside the canon, "Baptize ye into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and quotations from many others. (4) The most striking proof of the veritable authenticity of the words is the prevalence of the trinitarian baptismal formula amongst all heretical sects — even among sects whose tenets were not in accord with its implied teaching. This shows how deeply the trinitarian confession of faith is rooted in primitive Christianity. For example, among the Jewish Christians, where a unitarian rather than a trinitarian conception of God is discernible, as in the so-called Clementine Homilies, the trinitarian baptismal formula nevertheless was in constant use. The tendency of doctrine among them was foreign, nay hostile, to trinitarianism, but the "trina invocatio" was too venerable to be dispensed with. Similarly, in the Gnostic systems the triad of Matthew 28:19 plays an important part; and even the perverse Gnostics used the trinitarian baptismal formula for their sacrament of initiation, "manifestly only in order that they might not altogether lose connection with the common consciousness of the church and the right of the Christian name." Monarchianism, Montanism, Manichæism, however hostile they were to the trinitarian conception of God, never repudiated the baptismal formula; and this could only be because it had existed from the beginning. No one could assign a moment in the development of the church when this tradition did not exist. It was the bond of union between all who claimed the Christian name.

Professor Marshall's review, from which the above summary of Dr. Resch's discussion is taken, contains in brief the ideas of the author on several other interesting points, such as the composition of the Gospel of Mark, the composition of the Gospel of Matthew, the *Logia*, the text of certain Gospel passages, Matthew's eschatological discourse, and the connection between Paul and the synoptic Gospels. What Dr. Resch thinks upon these and all the themes presented in his book one cannot afford to be ignorant of, and that they are in general sufficiently conservative is suggested by his defense of the trinitarian baptismal formula.

Beyschlag's Conception of the Person of Christ.—Professor Beyschlag, whose *New Testament Theology* has just appeared in an English translation (2 vols., Scribners), is one of Germany's most important and influential New Testament scholars. He was born in 1823, and since 1860 has been professor of

theology at Halle. He has recently published a *Life of Jesus* (*Leben Jesu*), which has not been translated. He belongs to the middle school, avoiding at the same time extreme conservatism and extreme radicalism. He believes in "the revealed character of biblical religion, and the historical character of the biblical revelation." He accepts the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel, but regards the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Peter and Jude as belonging to a later period than that to which conservative scholars assign them. His *New Testament Theology* is an unusually able and valuable contribution to the subject, ranking with those of Weiss, Wendt, Bruce, Stevens and, lately, in France, Bovon. A recent review of his *Theology* published in Great Britain, of which Professor Banks was the author, criticised unfavorably, from a conservative point of view, Professor Beyschlag's conception of the Person of Christ. Other reviewers accused him of Unitarian views about Jesus. The following letter (translated from German into English) was sent by Dr. Beyschlag to the English publishers of his *New Testament Theology*, and states more concisely, if not more precisely, his conception of the Person of Christ:

"Notwithstanding the favorable opinion of the *Scotsman* reviewer, in other respects, his statement that my conception of biblical Christianity is virtually what is known in England as Unitarianism, is as objectionable to me as it is to you. On this point I should like to make an explanation, of which you are at liberty to make what public use you please.

"In view of my accentuation of the Monotheism of the Bible and of the true and full humanity of Christ, I can easily understand how a critic, even though favorably disposed, should regard the fundamental view of my *New Testament Theology* as Unitarian. Nevertheless this is a serious misunderstanding.

"The Christology which I find in the New Testament is virtually that of Schleiermacher, whom no one in Germany has ever classed as a Unitarian or Socinian. Unitarianism places an impassable *gulf* between God and man, whilst I see in Christ the perfect *union* of the two, the incarnation of God. I do not, indeed, reach this conclusion in accordance with the usual orthodox scheme, which makes a second person of the Godhead unite himself with an impersonal human nature, and thus produces a Being who is half God and half man, or is really a second God in an apparently human form. Like Schleiermacher, I begin with the certain and historical facts concerning Christ, namely, his *humanity*, and conceive him as the typical and ideal man. He is so, however, only in virtue of the absolute indwelling of God in him, for only the man who is absolutely one with God is the ideal man. And therefore I regard Christ, in contradistinction to all his brethren, as that true and perfect man 'in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily' (Col. 1:19; 2:9). This Christology presupposes a Trinity of God, and one that is not merely œconomical, but also ontological. For it is an essential part of God's *nature*, that he can at once remain eternally *above* us as God the Father, enter into humanity in Christ, and make his abode in the heart as

Holy Spirit. That, of course, is not a trinity of 'Persons'—an idea which was opposed even by St. Augustine, and which in accordance with the modern idea of personality directly leads to three Gods—but a threefold mode of being of the One God, three *modi*, three *relationes subsistentes*. In thus conceiving God, I am, like Schleiermacher, a Modalistic Trinitarian, but not a Unitarian.

"My *New Testament Theology*, however, was not the place in which to speak of this conception of the Trinity, as the New Testament has no formal doctrine on the subject, but only the elements of such a doctrine, and these I have pointed out in their proper place (see, for example, Vol. II., p. 88 f.).

"This explanation should be sufficient to clear up any misunderstanding on this point on the part of those who are versed in the subject.

(Signed) DR. WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG."

Work and Workers.

CHANGES AND CONDITIONS IN GERMANY.

Professor Emil Schürer, well known to New Testament scholars by his *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, having been transferred to the University of Göttingen has been succeeded at Kiel by Professor F. Mühlau formerly at the Russian University of Juriew (Dorpat).

Lic. Deissmann (author of *Die neutestamentliche Formel "In Christo Jesu"*) is about to publish in Germany a volume of biblical essays. One of these will be a study of the epistles of the Apocrypha and the New Testament, with a comparison of ancient epistles as representing a branch of literary composition. Another will contain a number of contributions to the lexicography of the LXX. and the New Testament drawn from a study of the recently published Greek papyri.

We sometimes have in America the impression that in Germany a more or less liberal theological professor works with no hindrances, and is allowed to set forth his sometimes novel views without opposition from theological conservatives. One does not live many weeks in Germany without finding that nothing could be farther from the truth. A German professor has indeed in his professorship a sort of freehold of which he cannot easily be deprived, and it has seldom happened that the authorities have failed to maintain the freedom of university teachers (although, to be sure, just after the middle of this century it was hinted emphatically to a number of liberal theologians that they would find an opportunity of greater usefulness in the philosophical faculty—a proceeding which resulted, for instance, in Zeller's writing a History of Philosophy instead of further books on the New Testament, and in the sudden disappearance from the field of nearly all aggressive advocates of the Tübingen view), but he is exposed to personal attacks which are at least as bitter as anything known in the United States. On the whole the relations between the strictly orthodox pastors and those professors who earnestly maintain that they represent the reality of German—especially of Luther's—Christianity, while at the same time they hold, both in their dogmatic views in general and in the results of their biblical study, to a "critical theology," are becoming with every passing month more and more strained.

Interesting illustrations of this are offered by two events of the past year, the "cases," as the Germans call them, of Professor Kautzsch in Halle and of the "Bonn Professors," Professor Meinhold and Professor Grafe. The former exhibition of the *odium theologicum* occurred last June, on the occasion of the completion of the new translation of the Old Testament by Professor Kautzsch with the help of other scholars. The translation is not meant for use in public worship, where Luther's version will doubtless always hold its place so long as the German language lasts, but for use by students, and, if

possible, by laymen. It was in fact intended as a substitute for the translation which De Wette made many years ago and which is now out of print. In preparing it, Professor Kautzsch and the publishers decided to make two innovations, first, to leave a blank in the page where the Hebrew text in its present condition cannot he translated, and secondly to indicate by capital letters in the margin the view of the translators as to the analysis and composition of the various books. In addition Professor Kautzsch supplied an appendix containing a brief and admirably convenient account of the literary history of the Old Testament books, as he apprehends it. His own view of the dates and authorship of the various books coincides in the main with Wellhausen's, although he would regard himself in his general theological position as more conservative than Wellhausen.

It is plain that such a book cannot fail to be a most useful aid to students and readers of the Old Testament, and that it occupies a place which in English neither the averaged results of our Revised Version, nor the invaluable collection of material in the "Variorum Bible" is quite fitted to take. It is equally obvious, however, that it means a very great popularizing of the results of the "criticism" of the Old Testament, for the book was put at a comparatively cheap price and had a large sale. It was, therefore, perhaps not surprising that it met with criticism. In fact, as soon as the book appeared a severe notice of it was published in the Berlin *Kreuz-Zeitung*, a rather unscrupulous "conservative" paper which exercises a wide influence over the opinions of a large part of the Prussian nobility (with whom political and theological conservatism go together) and the conservative pastors. The notice was signed with the initials of a not eminent theologian well known as having a personal grudge against the University of Halle. It called Kautzsch's book, among other things, a "wicked and partisan work" and pretended to see in it the "farewell of Protestantism to the Christian Church," an attack upon Christianity in view of which the Pope had done well to establish a commission for the defense of the faith. Nothing in the book met the approval of the critic: even the sketch of literary history at the end was "nothing but a plagiarism from Wellhausen."

The next day, when the professor came into his lecture room, he was greeted with the German students' sign of approval, a furious stamping on the floor, to which he replied in friendly thanks, expressing his confidence in the loyalty of his students and his conviction that absolute candor in dealing with the Holy Scriptures is the only safeguard of evangelical Christianity. The *Kreuz-Zeitung* a few days later expressed, by the editor this time, its contempt for that sort of an ovation and its disgust at such a defense, and soon after the author of the original criticism published a pamphlet on "How they Teach the Old Testament at Halle;" but Professor Kautzsch and his friends kept a wise silence and nothing further has happened.

The other case, though less picturesque, was more serious. In the summer vacation last year, the theological professors at Bonn held a short "summer-course" intended to give a little theological stimulus to the pastors of the

neighborhood, who, of course, had all had in their time a thorough theological training. Among the other lectures were some by Professor Meinhold on the beginnings of Hebrew history, including especially the patriarchs, and others by Professor Grafe on the various recent theories (of which there have been many) of the form and significance of the Last Supper. One can only say from a wholly disinterested point of view that the subjects were chosen with a certain lack of tact; for surely the results of historical criticism of the history of the patriarchs, are when taken by themselves, rather the least edifying parts of the noble reconstruction of Old Testament history; and on the other hand for Lutheran pastors (with their views of the character of a sacrament) even a report on the various distinctly speculative theories of the origin of the Eucharist touches very delicate ground, where at least a confusion of mind from which a busy pastor will not so easily extricate himself is likely to result. It seems as if the professors had perhaps overestimated the theological intelligence and active-mindedness of the pastors to whom they spoke.

At any rate one pastor whose feelings were hurt told another, and letters were written to the papers denouncing the unbelieving theologians, into whose snares the young theological students were coming every year. The matter was taken up with exultation by the "liberal" press (largely in the hands of the scoffing and embittered Jews), who made the matter for the professors a hundredfold worse. In the meantime Professor Grafe published his lectures in one of the numbers for 1894 of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, in an article which forms an admirable guide through the mazes of the discussion of the origin of the Eucharist; and Professor Meinhold his, together with some discussion of the principle at stake, in a pamphlet called "Against Little-Faith" (*Wider den Kleinglauben*). Professor Kaftan at Berlin, too, took occasion to preach on Matt. 8:26, with obvious reference to the controversy. The phrase "little-faith," on which these theologians lay great stress just at present, was perhaps suggested by the reproach of "half-faith" brought against them by their opponents; for even their enemies could not fail to see that they had to do with something different from the old-fashioned "liberal theology," which they could have accused of being frankly no faith at all. The discussion in the secular papers, a bane of German theological controversy, went on through the winter. The professors and their friends were flatly told that they ought to leave the German church, or at least to resign their professorships, and the matter is said even to have been brought to the Prussian church authorities. But the Prussian church government has as its permanent policy to belong to no party, if possible, but to keep the peace; and they refused to act in the matter, so that, as nothing remained to be done, and the most extreme criticism possible had been uttered, the controversy proved to have burned itself out. The sparks for a new conflagration are, however, still there. Meanwhile the state fills the vacant professorships, so far as possible, with distinctly moderate men, not always in accordance with the wishes of the faculties; and the public will doubtless before long lose its interest in controversies which present the same conflict of opinion over and over again. J. H. R.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters.—The following topics for Chapter-meetings during May are suggested:

1. The stories of the resurrection morning: their relation to one another; the possibility of a perfect combination of them in one connected narrative; the desirability of the attempt; other New Testament testimony to the fact of the resurrection.

2. The walk to Emmaus.

3. Jesus as an interpreter of the Old Testament.

4. The gift of the Holy Ghost, and bestowal of the power to forgive sins.

5. The character and experience of Thomas.

6. The nature of Christian service as set forth in the charge to Peter.

7. The significance of Jesus' statement, "All authority has been given me in heaven and on earth."

8. The final commission and assurance to the disciples.

9. The ascension: its relation to the resurrection, and significance in itself.

10. A review of Jesus' claims to the Messiahship as made by himself.

11. The religious life of Jesus: did it grow and continue on a similar basis with that of other men?

12. The claims of Jesus: their influence upon his actions; their effect upon other people.

13. The task undertaken by Jesus: (*a*) the character of the work, (*b*) its extent in time, and boundaries, (*c*) a comparison of this with the life tasks of other men, (*d*) the inference respecting the mission and person of Jesus.

14. Jesus' method of establishing his kingdom. A comparison with the usual methods of men.

15. The originality of Jesus.

16. The influence of other men upon Jesus. Was there any trace of it in his life or work?

17. The power of Jesus as a teacher of principles difficult to make clear.

18. The attitude of Jesus toward the success of his work.

19. Your final estimate of Jesus based on the evidence gathered in the study of the past months as respects (*a*) his character, (*b*) his ability, (*c*) his plans, (*d*) his mission, (*e*) his nature, (*f*) the normal relation of men to him.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The College Prize Examinations. Some interesting facts in regard to the opportunities for biblical instruction in colleges are brought to light by the correspondence concerning the College Prize Examinations. In few institutions are courses offered which would prepare the student for any of these examinations, except the New Testament Greek. Those students who have had classical Greek are many of them anxious to try the examination in New Testament Greek, therefore the number of applicants for examination in this subject is larger than for either the Hebrew or the English Bible. It is believed, however, that the annual offer of these prizes will lead to the offering in colleges of regular courses leading up to the examinations. Many instructors have already stated this as their purpose for the coming year. The following colleges are now represented in the list of candidates:

Yale University; Princeton College; The University of Pennsylvania; Amherst College; Oberlin College; Williams College; The University of Chicago; The University of Wyoming; Missouri State University; Wooster University; Washburn College, Kans.; Redfield College, S. D.; Wabash College, Ind.; U. S. Grant University, Tenn.; Central University of Iowa; Drake University, Iowa; Albion College, Mich.; Wofford College, S. C.; Hobart College, N. Y.; St. Stephen's College, N. Y.; Randolph-Macon College, Va.; Leesville College, S. C.; Adrian College, Mich.; Des Moines College, Iowa; Westminster College, Mo.; Newberry College, S. C.; Kenyon College, Ohio; Bloomfield Presbyterian College, N. J.; Union Christian College, Ind.; McGill College, Montreal, Can.; Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.; King's College, Windsor, N. S.; University of New Brunswick, Can.

As the last dates for enrollment are not yet at hand it is supposed that many more colleges will be added to this list.

Field Work. An important step was taken by the officers of the Michigan Christian Endeavor Union at their recent convention at Bay City, March 26–28. After an address by Rev. H. L. Willett, of the Institute, on present possibilities of Bible study, a meeting was held for the consideration of the best methods of bringing the Societies of the state into line for biblical work. It was decided to appoint District Superintendents of Bible study who should overlook the work of the Societies in each district, and should assist them in organizing Bible study and in selecting the best plans for such study. As the Bible study course of the Institute has already been officially endorsed by the Michigan Union, it will follow that this course will be the one urged upon the Societies next year. The subject for 1895–6, the Founding of the Christian Church, is one which will especially appeal to Christian Endeavor workers. Professor P. C. Coler of Ann Arbor, a vice president of the Union, was appointed State Superintendent of Bible study. This seems to be a long step forward in organized Christian Endeavor Bible work.

At Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, April 16–19, a course of lectures

was given by Mr. H. L. Willett. The average attendance at these lectures was three hundred. The course was not, strictly speaking, under the auspices of the Institute, but was suggested by it. The subjects of the lectures were as follows: (1) An Introduction to the Old Testament; (2) Wisdom Literature; (3) Prophets and Prophecy; (4) Present Possibilities of Bible Study; (5) The Preparation of Paul; (6) The Song of Songs.

April 20–21 an Institute was held at Moline, Illinois. Four lectures were given. The work of this Institute was not as systematic as might have been arranged had the field been less new. It seemed necessary to make the lectures of a somewhat general character. They were as follows: (1) The Apostle Paul; (2) A Reading of the Song of Songs; (3) Present Possibilities of Bible Study. A conference on Bible study was also held. A second Institute will be held in Moline in the Autumn of 1895.

Arrangements have also been made for an Institute to be held at Des Moines College, May 1–3, at Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 6–8, and in Rochester, N. Y., and Philadelphia, Pa., in July.

The Biblical Work at the Bay View Chautauqua Assembly will be under the direction of Dr. F. K. Sanders of Yale and Rev. A. L. Parks of Atlanta, Georgia. At Monteagle, Tennessee, Professor Lincoln Hulley will have charge of the work. The assemblies at Silver Lake, New York, and at Tully Lake, New York, have also arranged for an instructor. Up to date, therefore, the Bible work of eight Chautauqua Assemblies, in addition to that at Chautauqua proper, will be under the direction of the Institute.

Book Reviews.

That Monster the Higher Critic. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company. Pp. 41. 25 cents.

Any man who needs an antidote against the fear of criticism can find it in this tract for the times. He will also be surprised if not startled by the list of critics. He will find there most of his masters. And he will learn that "critic" and "destructive critic" are not identical. It is high time that the eyes of the church were opened to the real source of danger to Christianity—the tyranny of the weak, or better, over-zealous brother. It is not at the start a question as to who is right, the critic or the anti-critic; that no man can tell from the deliverances of his prejudices. Either or both may be right. It is a question of willingness to investigate. Nothing could better illustrate the unreasoning dread of investigation that characterizes many modern champions of the past than the author's story of the circus that was broken up because some one shouted that the Gy-as-cutus had broken loose. A man does not need to give up faith in Christ while he looks for the author of Ecclesiastes. Dr. Vincent has packed a vast quantity of wit and earnestness into this little pamphlet, and no one can read it without a deepened belief that the scholarship of today that lies at the bottom of most Christian teaching is furnished by the followers of the critical school. It would be interesting to read a reply to the author's challenge (p. 35): "Buckle used to say when a man was pointed out to him as distinguished, 'What has he done?' We throw down the challenge to the men who are vilifying the higher critics as the enemies of the Bible: What have *you* done for the advancement of biblical study? What do your leaders represent? Produce your catalogues of names. Produce their books, their researches, their discoveries, and let us see how it compares with the work of the higher critics." S. M.

The Psalmist and the Scientist, or Modern Value of the Religious Sentiment. By GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D. Third edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons; New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pages vi.+332. Price, $1.75.

This is a contribution to apologetics. The author defends the expressions of the religious sentiment of the Hebrew poet as seen in the Psalms against the aversions of the materialistic scientist of the present day. This religious sentiment is the permanent force behind all explanation or dogma or creed. While these latter vary with the degree of culture and intellectual advance-

ment, the religious sentiment is the nucleus-*invariable*. While the sphere of the religious sentiment and religious dogma are one and the same, their difference lies not in the road they travel, but in the vehicle. "Dogma goes on foot, sentiment goes on the wing." While the objects of the two may be identical, they are distinguished not in the thing perceived, but in the mode of perceiving it. This religious sentiment of the Hebrew soul "is enshrined in a single volume, the Book of the Psalms—the prayer-book of Old Testament theology." The religious sentiment of this book is very far from being a religious sentimentalism; it contains an argument for its own existence. After a somewhat elaborate and cogent argument in defense of the religious sentiment (based on Pss. 145 : 15, 16; 42 : 1, 2; 84 : 1–3), the author discusses the views of the psalmist and of modern science in ten chapters on the following nine points, viz.: the argument for God (Ps. 94 : 9–11), origin of life (Ps. 36 : 9), human insignificance (Ps. 8 : 3–5), twofold creation (Ps. 19), ground of religious confidence (Ps. 139), optimism (Ps. 107 : 1–9), principle of survival (Pss. 2 : 72 : 92 : 1), sin (Ps. 51 : 1–12), and the principle of conservation (Ps. 73 : 23–28). On each of these topics the views of the psalmist and of modern science are set down side by side, and compared with great fairness and considerable critical acumen. Dr. Matheson has done close reasoning on many of these points; a good specimen of careful discrimination may be seen in his discussion of the teleological argument in chapter III., where he answers with ability such writers as Mr. J. S. Mill.

This work has done what it set out to do, viz.: to harmonize in the author's mind, and often in the reader's, the bold statements of the psalmist with the assured results of modern science. In a sense this is a new field for apologetics, but one in which much fruit may be expected. This book is a good pathfinder. PRICE.

Studies in Theology: Lectures delivered in Chicago Theological Seminary. By the REV. JAMES DENNEY, D.D. Second edition. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. 12mo., pp. 272. Price, $1.50.

The lectures which make up the volume attracted considerable attention when they were delivered in Chicago a year ago, and they will doubtless secure a wide and interested reading now that they are published in a neat and attractive volume. The book is thoroughly readable. Its author is familiar with the present currents of thought, has grappled with his problems for himself and discusses his theme not indeed exhaustively but freshly and forcibly. In his interpretation of the Bible, both in the large and in detail, there is much to praise and little with which to find fault. The argument from detached texts without due regard to context, which the exegetes are wont to regard as a chronic fault of the systematic theologians, is conspicuously absent. The lecture on the Testimony of Jesus to Himself, especially its first half, is perhaps the strongest and most impressive part of the book

From the exegetical point of view his discussion of the atoning work of Christ is the least satisfactory. There is a hardness or seeming blindness here which is quite surprising in view of the rest of the book. Yet even here it is evident that his aim is to interpret the New Testament fairly rather than to impose upon it a philosophical scheme. But the chapter which will probably provoke most dissent is that on Holy Scripture. His view is virtually that the teachings of Scripture attest themselves to the Christian consciousness, first of all as respects the reality of the character of Christ as he is exhibited in the Gospels, and then as respects other parts of their teaching, partly indirectly through this assurance respecting Christ, and partly directly by the assent which they win. We shall not undertake to criticise this theory in detail. But we fear Dr. Denney's optimistic confidence that "the theologian will know how to distinguish between the letter of the record and God revealing himself through it; and he will find no insuperable difficulty in building his theology, as on the surest of all foundations, on this revelation" will not be shared by theologians generally. Undoubtedly there is a large element of truth in Dr. Denney's view. But of one thing there can scarcely be a doubt, that if theology is to reach established conclusions and not merely personal convictions for the individual theologian, it must either find a firmer basis for its doctrine of Scripture than this subjective and individualistic test, or else it must employ the teachings of Scripture very differently from the way in which Dr. Denney uses them in the body of his book. In the last analysis he gives us no other reason for accepting a large part of the doctrines he has set forth in this book than that they win his assent, with perhaps the added implication that he trusts that they will win ours also. This is good argument so far as it goes, and valuable, but when set forth as the sole basis of the doctrine of Scripture it sadly misrepresents the real strength of the case for the authority of Scripture. E. D. B.

Die Herrlichkeit des Alten Testamentes. Rede gehalten am Jahresfest der Bibelgesellschaft in Basel den 3 Juli, 1894, von DR. OETTLI.

A clear and impressive summary from the evangelical standpoint of the chief reasons why the Old Testament is dear to Christians. It ought to convince Dr. A. Zahn, who has written very bitterly of Professor Oettli in a recent publication, that he is sound at the core after all. W. T. S.

Hat der Apostel Paulus die Heidengötter für Dämonen gehalten? Von DR. WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG. P. 22. An ingenious attempt to resuscitate an unfashionable explanation.

Recent commentators are agreed that the word *daimonion* in 1 Cor. 10:20–21 means "demon," "evil spirit." Professor Beyschlag seeks to revive the interpretation advocated by many scholars in the eighteenth century "false gods," "divinities." After showing the possibility of this mean-

ing in New Testament Greek, he argues that it fits in very well with the context of the passage under consideration, and that the other meaning is inadmissible there. The reasoning is plausible, but it falls short of demonstration. All that is proved is that the word might be used here in the sense recommended, but "might be" is a very long way from "must be." There can be no doubt that the general usage of the word in the New Testament Greek is against Professor Beyschlag's theory. Of the fifty-six passages (outside of this passage) in which it occurs there is only one in which it unquestionably means "divinity," and that one (Acts 17:18) has an archaic ring about it. Besides, the possibility if not the probability of an Old Testament background is overlooked. If, as some think, Paul had in mind Deut. 32:17, as given in the LXX., he can scarcely have meant by *daimonia* anything but "demons." It is strange that Professor Beyschlag who incidentally mentions this passage never discusses its bearing on the text. The remark that Paul nowhere else describes evil spirits as *daimonia* is valid only on the assumption of the non-Pauline origin of the Pastoral Epistles. (See 1 Tim. 4:1.) W. T. S.

Ernste Blicke in den Wahn der modernen Kritik des Alten Testamentes. Von Dr. Adolf Zahn. Neue Folge.

This loosely constructed book is too bitter to be effective. Dr. Zahn hates modern criticism and all its works. He maintains that it has not found one single fact, one single truth. It was and is nothing but a great delusion. The Protestantism which has nursed it burns the Old Testament in a great *auto-da-fé*. Smend's elaborate History of Old Testament Religion is pronounced quite unusable because the author acknowledges his great indebtedness to Wellhausen. Holzinger's introduction to the Hexateuch is "nothing but folly." And yet these "glances" are by no means devoid of penetration. Dr. Zahn makes some points and coins some smart repartees. He is right when he says that the Bible is not a book for scholars to play with, but is meant for the building up of the church; and there is sense as well as humor in the remark that the Old Testament will soon be like a tablecloth composed of a thousand many-colored patches. Still the tone of the work is miserably narrow and intolerant. An earnest but temperate and charitable protest against the fondness for speculation displayed by many critics, and the irreverence of some, would have been very timely, but Dr. Zahn's violence defeats itself. Whilst much has been written about the Old Testament in recent years which has no permanent value, it cannot be denied by impartial judges that the intelligent study of this part of Scripture has been wonderfully furthered during the last quarter of a century. W. T. S.

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The Old and New Testament Student

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THE unity of the Bible has doubtless sometimes been maintained in a sense unwarranted by facts. Unity defined as uniformity and conceived as excluding all progress in revelation the historical student of the Bible fails to find. All the more, therefore, ought he to be most forward in recognizing the true unity which actually exists, a unity which discovers itself alike in the progress of thought with which biblical theology has to do, and in the relations of events with which the historian deals. No historical fact can be better established than that the history of the New Testament church and that of Old Testament Israel are vitally connected, parts of one continuous historical current.

THE UNITY OF THE BIBLE

WE speak sometimes of the four centuries of silence, and some have perhaps received the impression that there is a great gap between the literature of the Old Testament and that of the New. This gap in the literature is probably not as long as it was once supposed to be. But though it were four centuries long, though through four hundred years the voice of prophecy had been silent and the pens of the scribes unused, it would not follow that the currents of history had been broken off, and that there was no connection between the life of the Israel of Nehemiah's day and the Israel of John the Baptist's time. Nor do the facts of history give evidence of any such separation between the two

THE CONTINUITY OF ISRAELITISH HISTORY

periods. In the first place there are links of divine thought connecting the two periods and bridging the gap between them. In Christ and his church are wonderfully realized the ideals of which the prophets dreamed. On him converge the several somewhat distinct lines of hope and prediction discernible in the Old Testament, but seemingly unrelated in the prophetic thought. This culmination in him of ideals and predictions uttered centuries before, itself constitutes a chain of connection between the earlier history and the later. But the unity is not only that which is constituted by a bridge of thought thrown across a great period of comparative silence and obscurity. There is a continuity also of life and of living thought. The history of Israel is one because the life of Israel is one. The Israel of our Lord's day was what it was in no small part because of the forces that were operative in the days of the Maccabees, and the Maccabean history has its roots in the Old Testament.

This Unity Recognized in the New Testament

Though the New Testament writers have little to say explicitly concerning this inter-biblical age, yet they expressly recognize the continuity of the life of Israel from the Old Testament days to their own time. The nation for whose salvation Paul travails in soul is the Israel "whose is the adoption, and the glory and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ, as concerning the flesh." It was in the fullness of time that Christ came, not after a four-century break in the continuity of divine activity in Israel's history, nor as an afterthought, the divine purpose respecting Israel having been suffered for four centuries to lie dormant. The forces that made those particular days the fullness of time were not solely those which had been at work in the days of Moses and David and Isaiah and Malachi; they included also and of necessity some which were operative down to the very time at which Christ appeared. Had it been otherwise the fullness of time must itself have come sooner. The period that just preceded Christ may have had characteristics very different from those of earlier

ages. The periods of a nation's life, like those of the individual human life, differ in many respects one from another, but it is the one life that throbs on through all the periods, from the first appearance of the nation among the peoples of the world down to the culmination of its history in the accomplishment of its service and mission to mankind.

THIS unity of Israel's life is a fact of no little importance in itself, and its recognition is indispensable to any large and true view of biblical history and biblical revelation. The division of the biblical department in our theological schools into the two separate departments of the Old Testament and the New Testament was probably an economic necessity. But it would be nothing less than a disaster if it should lead to the feeling on the part of students of the Bible that the Old Testament and the New are two separate books belonging to two quite distinct periods of history and having but a loose connection one with the other. Not only must the teacher of the Old Testament know the New Testament, and the teacher of the New Testament know the Old Testament, but both of them and every student of the Bible ought to recognize the continuity of the history, the record of which begins in the one volume and is carried forward in the other. What we need alike as students of history and as theologians is not a fragmentary and disconnected knowledge of the Bible, nor even a knowledge of it in all its parts, but a knowledge of it as a whole, and in its true unity.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW MUST BE STUDIED TOGETHER

IN the February number of this journal emphasis was laid upon the peculiarly divine character of Israelitish history. It was urged that an historical record in a special sense divine almost of necessity presupposes a history not less divine. Evidence was presented to show that Israel's prophets so conceived of the nation's history, and that the actual history especially when studied in comparison with other ancient history confirms their interpretation of the facts.

THE DIVINE ELEMENT IN ISRAEL'S HISTORY

But this argument for the divine element in Israel's history becomes far stronger when we include in Israelitish history its New Testament chapters.

Seen in the Relation of the Old Testament to Christ

In the first place the very relation, already referred to, of the life and character of Jesus to the Old Testament history of Israel including the history of prophetic thought, is itself strong evidence of the existence of a divine element in the history. The older methods of stating the argument from prophecy may seem to us somewhat less than true to the facts, but there is a great truth at the heart of the argument, and this truth becomes clearer and more persuasive as we understand biblical history better. Without Jesus Christ Israelitish history is a torso; with him it is a splendid statue. Without him its great lines of thought and of event end in air; in him they converge as to a point, and reveal their true meaning. Is it an accident that he thus realizes, while he at the same spiritualizes and elevates, the ideals of the prophets? Is it a mere coincidence that he culminates and completes that which they began, but which without him is but a record of ruined hopes, and splendid ideals doomed to disappointment? Surely not. The relation between Old Testament history and New Testament history is one behind which there lies divine thought and divine power.

In the Perfection of Christ's Character and Teaching

In the second place the matchless perfection of the character and teaching of Jesus, together with the unique and at the same time lofty character of his mission to the world, is a fact which cannot be explained unless we recognize a divine factor in the history that culminates in him. Waiving all question of the precise definition of his nature, the character and work of Jesus Christ stand out from all the record of history, demanding to be taken into account in any philosophy of history and refusing to be accounted for on any theory which either ignores God in history or so conceives of his methods of action as to reduce all that history to one unbroken plane.

In the third place the splendid and unparalleled achievements of that Christianity which owes its origin to Jesus, and which has been splendid in proportion to its fidelity to his teachings and its recognition of his authority, is a constant testimony to the divine factor in that history which finds its center and meaning in him.

In the Results of Christianity

And let it be noticed that these three lines of evidence constitute not only an argument for the divine in the life of Jesus, but for the existence of a divine factor in the entire history of which his life is an essential element. There is a very true sense in which Jesus would have been impossible without the history back of him. We are very far from maintaining that he was in a naturalistic sense merely the product of an evolutionary process—the evidence clearly proves the contrary. Nor is it necessary to emphasize that which is doubtless true in itself, that the best elements of that national character which had been produced by centuries of divine discipline appear in him elevated and idealized, so that he himself was what he was as a human being in part because he was born, not only of a woman, but under the law and in the fullness of time. Aside from any adaptation of Christ to his age by reason of the past history of his nation, it is transparently clear that the conditions under which he lived and, because the past centuries of Israelitish history produced these conditions, those centuries themselves also, were necessary to the accomplishment of his mission. But for the existing conditions and the centuries that preceded them his career could never have had the significance or the effect which it has had. The history and the Christ are mutually necessary parts of one whole. Without him Israelitish history is unintelligible; without Israelitish history the Christ that was is not only unintelligible but impossible. Apart from one another each is robbed of full half its meaning; viewed together, as they actually were, both are intelligible and both divine.

Relation of all these to Israelitish History

AGAINST such a recognition of a special divine element in the history of Israel it is difficult to see what valid historical evidence can be urged. To many minds, however, the evidence of the uniformity of the divine action in the world, especially in the realm of nature, so called, appeals so strongly that they find difficulty in admitting that God can have dealt with one nation in any other way than that in which he has dealt with every other nation. They hold that there can be nothing special in God.

OBJECTION TO ANYTHING SPECIAL IN DIVINE ACTION

AGAINST the supposition that God has dealt with different nations on substantially different principles, or even after radically different methods there is much to be said that is true and forcible. But surely the very historical evidence to which this argument appeals shows clearly that the uniformity of God's action is a fundamental uniformity, which includes a large element of variety of method and result.

TRUE AND FALSE IN THE OBJECTION

The successive geologic ages do not exhibit one unvarying uniformity of phenomena. There was an age when only physical and chemical forces were in operation. This was succeeded by an age characterized by the presence of plants and animals. Yet here again the uniformity contained within itself a large degree of variety. Higher forms of life succeeded to lower, and the successive ages were marked each by its own characteristics. Undoubtedly there is an orderliness of progress from age to age, a tendency to the attainment of an end. Perhaps all the phenomena may be traced back in some sense to one force, though the attempt to resolve vital into chemical forces has not yet, we believe, been successful. In any case, however, the unity of purpose and force includes a variety of method and manifestation.

ARGUMENT FROM GEOLOGIC HISTORY

Nor is this variety wholly a difference of successive periods. In the present age the divine force in nature expresses itself in a multitude of forms and realms. The conclusion to which the method of divine action in the physical universe points is not that there is no variety of method in God's action, no shaping

of various means to one great end, but that he acts uniformly in the sense that there is nothing capricious, irregular or anomalous in his action.

Argument from Human History

Nor does human history support the presumption that there can be no variety in the dealings of God with nations. Certainly every theist will maintain that all nations are under the care and guidance of God, that he is a great factor of every nation's history, and that he has dealt with all in accordance with his wisdom, holiness and love. Yet surely no Christian ought to find it difficult to believe that no nation liveth wholly unto itself, but that each has a mission to accomplish in the great divine plan that runs through the whole history of the race—a mission not for itself only, but for the world. Perhaps no historian is wise enough yet to discern precisely the peculiarity of God's work in and through each nation, but enough is clear to make it evident that there has been a large variety within a fundamental uniformity. The mission of the Greeks in art and philosophy, of the Romans in law and government, and of the Hebrews themselves in religion, are familiar and pertinent illustrations. The objection to a special divine activity of God in Israelitish history, in the sense of an activity different in form and mode of expression from that which was a factor in non-Jewish history, is based on a conception of the method of the divine activity in the world which is sustained neither by the phenomena of the physical universe nor by those of human history. Indeed it is refuted by both.

Israel's History Unique

It may be urged that what we have maintained respecting the history of Israel really amounts to claiming not simply a form of divine activity different from that exerted in the history of certain other nations, but one which is actually unique. This is doubtless true in the sense that through no other nation known to us has God so manifested himself in the highest attributes of his nature, those which we call moral, as he has through Israel, that facts unparalleled in the religious history of the world have occurred in the history of Israel, and that Israel has thus had in the domain

of religion a mission committed to no other nation. We claim thus for Israel a unique mission, and for her history a unique divine character, not in the sense that no other nation has had a divine mission, nor that in no other has there been any revelation of religious truth, but in the sense that the revelation to and through Israel, taken in its entirety, has so far surpassed that made to other nations in purity and clearness and finality, in those elements which make a religion permanent and universal, that it stands virtually in a class by itself. Israel's history is unique not in that Israel had a mission, but in that it had a unique mission.

LAW OF DIMINISHING FREQUENCY

Nor can it be fairly urged that the history of the world or the phenomena of the universe at large prove or imply anything respecting the method of the divine government which should make it difficult for us to admit that Israel's history is in this sense unique. These phenomena and this history reveal not only a fundamental uniformity of divine action—but not less clearly what may be justly called the divine law of diminishing frequency. Various classes of phenomena do not occur with a uniform frequency. Events do not file past us as if they were set upon a panorama all parts of which move at the same rate of speed. In the realm of astronomy there are events that, to speak from the point of view of the observer on the earth, occur every twenty-four hours; there are others that occur once a month, others once a year, others at intervals so long that astronomical records can scarcely give us two occurrences of them. In the realm of human history this law is equally manifest. Moreover, here it is in general the great events that are most infrequent. Men of common clay are born every hour; truly great men are rare; men of the very highest ability, whether in literature, art, generalship, or statecraft, appear only at intervals of centuries. The uniformity of the world's history is a uniformity which includes a vast variation in the relative frequency of different phenomena. In the one direction this variation reaches the point of incalculable frequency; in the other it

certainly approximates, there is no reason to deny that it actually reaches, the point of absolute uniqueness. Indeed, it is almost in the nature of the law of diminishing frequency that the last term of the series should stand alone. It becomes, therefore, in every case of apparent uniqueness purely a question of evidence with no presumption whatever against the existence of the unique instance.

Israel's History Unique Because of Jesus Christ's Relation to it

But in the case of the history of Israel there is one special and strong reason why the evidence for uniqueness should be given its full weight. Of that history Jesus Christ is an integral element. He cannot be eliminated from the problem. Now by almost universal confession Jesus Christ is a unique figure among men. He may indeed be classed with prophets, moralists, leaders of men, founders of religions. But from them all he stands so far apart as to constitute an absolutely unparalleled phenomenon, a unique factor in human history. Israelitish history is unique in the very fact of the relation of this unique person to it. The national history that includes the life of Jesus Christ, of which that life is an integral element, the center in which all its lines converge and from which alone its true significance can be perceived, is by this very fact unique.

That Israelitish history is in a special sense divine appears from the comparison of Israel's pre-Christian history with that of its contemporaries among the nations. But it becomes many fold more clear when, including the New Testament chapters of the history and thus the person of Jesus Christ, we look at it from the point of view of the history of the world, and of Israel's mission in that history.

JAMES ROBINSON BOISE.

The Teacher, the Scholar, the Educator, the Man, the Christian.

By Ira Maurice Price,
The University of Chicago.

Dr. Boise has become to hundreds of students a synonym of accuracy, exactness and precision. The name pictures to their minds a unique figure in the educational world, whose activity was unceasing throughout a full half of this nineteenth century. A mere recital of his ancestry and preparation for work would prejudice the reader in favor of a notable career. On his father's side he descended through Scotch-Irish parentage from a French Huguenot who was compelled at a time of great persecution to flee for his life. On his mother's side he was related to the family of Dr. Edward Robinson, the noted explorer and scholar of fifty years ago, an element of whose name is retained in the name at the head of this sketch. By heredity, then, he possessed unusual qualities for just the service which he was to render to the cause of higher education. He was born at Blandford, Mass., January 27, 1815. The preparation for his life-work was received at Hamilton (N. Y.) and Suffield (Conn.) Academies (1832–35), and at Brown University, from which he was graduated in 1840 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He spent several years at intervals and altogether in study and travel abroad, in Germany, Greece, France and Italy, and had the best of advantages for a broad and thorough training for his chosen profession.

Dr. Boise was a master-teacher and Greek was his servant. Those who have sat in his class room have looked upon him with reverence as an embodiment of all available knowledge of the Greek language, literature and civilization. His learning was not superficial or loose in any sense of the term, but pro-

found and accurate, taking in the whole sweep from the Trojan wars to the most insignificant (though all were significant to him) accents on the smallest Greek particle. Professor Boise has the high honor of having first introduced and required in this country the writing of Greek with accents. Nor was his comprehensive and exact knowledge of Greek a sealed book to others. One of Dr. Boise's greatest powers came into action at this point. He was not only able but skillfully capable of conveying to others this wisdom through the office of teacher. In this office he did his great life-work. As soon as graduated from Brown University (1840) he was elected tutor of Greek and Latin, and four years later professor in the chair of Greek, which he filled until 1852, under the presidency of the revered Francis Wayland. The University of Michigan, the new university of the West, secured his services in the same chair for seventeen years (1852–1868). The (now "Old") University of Chicago, occupying a strategical point for effective pioneer service, marked him as a choice man, called him, and he accepted the chair of Greek, which he occupied about nine years (1868–December 1876). At this time the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, under some financial embarrassments, had just removed from the city to Morgan Park. Dr. Boise's reputation as an all-around Greek scholar and teacher secured his appointment as successor, in the chair of New Testament literature and interpretation, to his life-long intimate friend and schoolmate, Dr. A. N. Arnold, whose failing health had compelled him to resign (in 1876). Fifteen years (1877–1892) Dr. Boise applied his wealth of learning to the critical reading of the New Testament Greek. From 1891, one year before he ceased teaching, to the time of his death (February 9, 1895) he was Professor Emeritus in the same chair, one year at Morgan Park and two and one-half years in The University of Chicago. Fifty-two years of active service as a teacher in a professor's chair! And such a teacher! Pupils learned from the first that Professor Boise was precise and accurate and to the point and required the same of them. He could not endure anything which resembled cram or crib, or looseness. His patience and sympathy was

next to inexhaustible for a hard-working, though dull, student, but he had none whatever for the bright and extemporaneous reciter. His sharpest pointed satires, always spoken in a mild tone and with a twinkle of the eye, pierced the self-conceited, bright, though poorly prepared, member of his class. He made his class room a place of genuine work upon the lesson. He could not be diverted by questions from the one object before him—the bringing out of the assigned lesson. "This one thing I do," seemed to be Professor Boise's motto, and he carried it out and demanded the same of his pupils, even to the iota subscript. He was not, however, immoderate in his demands, but required a reasonable amount of work, and all of it to be well done. His class room was an assemblage of Greek worthies, Homer, Plato and Demosthenes looking down from nook, bracket and corner upon his amateurs. The wall was a study in Greek topography, archæology and history, illustrating our everyday work, almost transporting us to the glories of those enchanting isles. In his method of questioning and allowing questions Professor Boise gave his students these pertinent negative rules: (1) Never ask a question which you can answer yourself. (2) Never ask a question which nobody can answer. (3) Never ask a question to show how much you know. (4) Never ask a question to make the teacher use up time. This happy combination of characteristics made Professor Boise the model class-room drill-master; and not in Greek only, but in a very true sense in English. He always required his pupils to translate into clear, pure, idiomatic English, so that his class room became—in the language of this day—a school of expression. Scores of professor's chairs in the colleges and universities of our country are today filled by men who were moulded by the class-room exactness and methods of Professor Boise—ten, at least, are found in the faculties of The University of Chicago.

The president and the trustees of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary showed great wisdom when they chose Professor Boise to fill the chair of New Testament Greek. Thirty-seven years of accurate and familiar acquaintance with the literature and peculiarities of both the ancient and modern Greek furnished a broad

and secure foundation for doing effective service in this department. With his thorough classical training he was prepared to do a special kind of work for students of the New Testament. After consultation with several distinguished friends, he decided to follow a unique method, to teach his classes the exact meaning of the Greek text of the New Testament. Instead of spending a year on a few chapters or a small book, Professor Boise would lead each class through the entire New Testament in the three years' course. Points of doctrine he would never discuss, but referred the questioner to the department where such points were taken up.

The observing and careful student gathered many gems from his careful discrimination made between classical and New Testament Greek, and found the key to the understanding of passages which commentaries simply darken by wisdom. This method was severely criticised by some (possibly because not the one in vogue in similar institutions), and equally lauded by others. It certainly gave the students a kind of information not found in other class rooms nor in the approved New Testament commentary of this day. This was fittingly the crowning work of this veteran Greek teacher—arming and equipping hundreds of young men to preach the gospel of the New Testament throughout this and other lands.

This masterful teacher extended his influence not simply through his pupils, but through his books. These put the teacher on record as a scholar. The same exacting scholarship shown and required in the class room was exhibited in a series of text-books. Among these may be mentioned: *Boise's First Lessons in Greek*, *Boise Homer's Iliad*, *Boise's Exercises in Greek Syntax* and *Boise and Freeman's Selections from Various Greek Authors*. These were widely used and passed through several editions. They gave the author not only a national but an international reputation. In fact, the University of Tübingen, recognizing his contribution to the interpretation of Homer, gave him in 1868 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1870 the University of Michigan conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws; and in 1880 Brown University honored her distin-

guished son with the Doctorate of Divinity. Since 1880 even his feeble health and declining years did not hinder him from publishing some of the best results of his New Testament study. These appeared first in a pamphlet for private circulation, then in three volumes, each containing the Greek text with his brief, recondite, pointed notes—and all on the epistles of Paul. The first volume was *The Epistle to the Galatians and the Epistles to the Romans* (1885), the second, *The Seven Epistles of Paul*, written after he became a prisoner (1887), the third, *The Epistle to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians* (1890). In the preface to the third volume I find these characteristic statements, embodying also the purpose of the books: "The notes are for the most part brief, and are intended to aid the student, or the pastor, in arriving with as few digressions as possible at the exact construction and meaning of the Greek. These points are kept constantly in view—the exact signification of words, the force of the Greek construction, and the logical connection of the sentences. No scholar can afford to neglect either one of these three points, whether in classic or New Testament Greek." The value and usefulness of these volumes have been gratefully recognized and acknowledged by New Testament scholars of wide repute. They are not commentaries, in the popular sense of that term, but are supplemental, of a critical, yet of a warm, sympathetic nature. These form an appropriate climax to his career, and leave us a heritage of some of his choicest thoughts on the letters of the great Apostle to the gentiles.

Dr. Boise was not only a Greek scholar. He had an intense interest in modern languages, several of which he spoke with fluency. He also took an active interest in educational methods generally. The writer heard from his own lips, that he and Professor Frieze, his colleague, wholly reconstructed the curriculum of the University of Michigan. Together they laid the foundations for the larger, the more thorough and the more comprehensive discipline of that great institution. He was among the first aggressive advocates of co-education, a very unpopular theme to most educators in his prime of life. One of his reasons for accepting a position in the Old University of Chicago was that

he might realize his ardent desires. The seed sown by himself and a very few others of his day has produced an abundant harvest throughout the West, including our own institution; even his *alma mater* and other institutions of the East cheered his last days by the adoption of co-education.

As a man Dr. Boise was unassuming, plain, simple-hearted, open-minded, genuine. His whole energy was bent toward doing well the one work of his life. Always in frail health, he was compelled to foster his strength, to concentrate his powers, and to deprive himself of many of the social privileges open to, and claims usually made upon, one in his position. But his students and intimate friends, who knew best his largeness of mind and unselfishness of nature, soon discovered that he was anything but narrow. He took a living, and in early life an active interest in educational movements, and showed a tender fervor for the cause of Christian missions in every part of the earth. He kept himself thoroughly informed on all questions touching in any way his own activities. In all his statements in the class room and out of it, he was careful, guarded, clear. His love of precision and exactness marked his every thought and movement, and carried with it strong convictions of right and duty. Consequently, Dr. Boise was an open enemy of everything that savored of pretense, notoriety or sham. Nothing was more repulsive to his matter-of-fact make-up than the pedantic, the pompous, the grandiloquent. On the other hand, sincerity, candor, diligence, carefulness, modesty touched his sympathies, aroused his interest and formed between him and his friend tender ties of attachment. His former pupils in all parts of the earth will recall many little unexpected acts of kindness with which Dr. Boise cheered them on their school way. Even the children upon the streets, especially in his later years, received his attentions in the shape of bits of candy, so interested was he in young life.

But the man was what he was largely because he was a Christian. Converted in early life, he deliberately determined to devote his life to the cause of foreign missions and he planned to go to Greece. But the insecure health of Mrs. Boise pre-

vented the carrying out of this cherished purpose. The firmness of his Christian character however was not shaken, and he carried this same interest with him into his chosen work. In 1850 he was licensed by the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., and ordained in Ann Arbor, Mich., in September, 1864. The simplicity and genuineness of his Christian character, especially at Morgan Park, were very impressive. The most helpful words spoken by him in his class room, aside from the critical rendering of the Greek, were paragraphs and lines out of his own Christian experience. In conducting the chapel services we can all recall his use of the Greek New Testament, and his translations made with an earnestness only intensified by his tremulous tone of voice. Among his favorite hymns were "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," and "All the Way my Saviour Leads me." Christian truth tempered his character and made it impressive and expressive to everyone. Kindly, affectionate and sympathetic, Dr. Boise revealed to his friends the most beautiful results of a simple, childlike trust in Jesus Christ.

Thus the teacher, the scholar, the educator, the man, the Christian—all harmonized in one noble character—in simple sincerity and true magnanimity, spent his life and sowed his seed on the soil of his age that we all and future generations may reap the richer harvest.

THE INTERPRETATION OF MATTHEW 12:39, 40.

A SYMPOSIUM.

In order to learn how far this passage with its explicit reference is held by the teachers of religion to set Christ's seal upon the story of Jonah, letters were sent to a considerable number of representative pastors and teachers asking them to give the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD *their opinions. The following replies have been received in time for publication in this number:*

IN view of the context and of the parallel account in Luke, the main point seems to be that those who stickle for the forms of religion but neglect the spirit of it are the most hopeless of sinners. The only appeal which Jesus will deign to make to them is by the moral greatness of his mission in calling them to repent of their sins. They are worse than the Ninevites. He is "more than" Jonah.

The generation of petty quibblers to whom Jesus was speaking ought to be held to the one supreme sign of his authority in his coming resurrection from death. A striking simile of this resurrection they could find in one of the incidents about the great preacher of righteousness, Jonah.

Jesus enforced the message upon his lettered hearers with classic point, as in speaking to the students of Princeton Dr. A. J. Gordon might have warned them against the captivating assaults of sin coming in like the captors of Troy in the wooden horse.

The Homeric question would not thereby be settled or even raised to consciousness in a healthy mind.

LEMUEL C. BARNES.

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In my judgment the characteristics of the "Book of Jonah" favor the opinion that it is an apologue or "religious novel," a composition mainly didactic in its aim. How large a historic element it contains can hardly be determined.

Although the weight of the comparison in Matthew (12:40) rests on the last half, yet the comparison would limp badly if the first leg were not an accepted statement. But that accepted statement may as well be a matter of belief or a familiar story, as a matter of history. To regard our Lord's use of the narrative as vouching for it as *history*, is to confound the province and function of "a preacher of righteousness" with that of a "higher critic" or a scientific lecturer. As reasonably might one infer from an allusion in a modern sermon to "William Tell" or "Effie Deans" or the "Man without a Country," that the speaker held these personages to be thoroughly historic, and their narrated experiences matters of fact. As warrantably might we make Christ's gratuitous mention (only three verses later) of evil spirits as frequenting "waterless places," the basis of a demonology for which he is to be held responsible.

J. Henry Thayer.

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If I differ from brethren who would prove by the words of our Lord in Matt. 12:40 that the book of Jonah is history rather than parable, it is not because I sympathize with those views of the Old Testament which are now most in debate, the major part of which I consider erroneous. It is because I would interpret his words exactly as I would if they had been spoken by any other man accustomed to use language at once accurately and freely. The best writers and orators of all peoples and all ages have spoken of the characters of fiction as if they were real. All competent writers and orators do so today. Even the minister who is offended with these lines will refer in his next Sunday's sermon to the Prodigal Son, to the Sower, to the Merchant seeking goodly pearls, without telling his people that these characters are not historical. He will refer to Mr. Facing-Both-Ways, to Mr. Fearing, or to Christian at the Wicket Gate, in the Slough of Despond, or in Vanity Fair, and will tell what they did, with no thought of the question whether his statements are derived from history or from allegory. I could show by many examples

that this was the custom of the writers and speakers of antiquity. In fact one of these examples is given by Christ himself. After relating the parable of the Unjust Judge, he begins his comment upon it with a sentence such as he would have used had the parable been history; "Hear what the unjust judge saith," Luke 18:6. So also in Jude 7, 14, 15, the Lord's brother refers to the story of the crime of the angels with the women of the world before the flood, without raising the question of its historical character, and quotes from the book of Enoch as we quote from some disputed dialogue of Plato, without raising the question of its genuineness,

Some one may say that this view, if it is granted, will render of no effect all our Lord's statements about the Old Testament. By no means. If we interpret him exactly as we interpret other writers and speakers, we shall have no difficulty in distinguishing his literary allusions from his historical statements. Moreover, his testimony to the Old Testament will gain in power and cogency if we shall refrain from dragging into it that which does not certainly belong to it. And a fair interpretation of his word in Matt. 12:40 will leave the question of the historic character of the book of Jonah wholly unanswered.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

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I should rather not commit myself to an exegesis of such a highly figurative passage as Matt. 12:39, 40. A man's exegesis of such a passage as that is bound to be simply a reading into it of his general conception of things. What it says is as plain as A B C. It requires no exegesis to determine that. It may mean any one of ten thousand things to as many readers. Just precisely what Jesus meant by it we shall never know. One thing is sure, such passages as these are poor foundations to erect any very definite dogmatic structure upon.

As to Jesus' use of the Old Testament, it seems to me that he used it just as we use Bunyan or Shakespeare — without concerning himself one way or the other about its historicity, or literary form, or authorship, or date of composition, and assuming that

his immediate hearers would have sufficient common sense to take his words as he meant them. To tie him down to a belief in the historical character of the story of Jonah is as absurd as it would be to make every man who ever referred to the Slough of Despond a believer in the geographical reality of such a place.

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I agree with Wendt that verse 40 is an interpolation. The sign to which Jesus refers in verse 39 is evidently the prophet preaching repentance. As Jonah preached to the Ninevites, so Jesus preached to the men of his time. There are coherency and force in the passage vss. 39 and 41 if we leave out verse 40. Verse 40 introduces a new idea and one that is not strictly congruous with the others. There is, as far as I know, no evidence that verse 40 is a gloss; but the Gospel of St. Matthew, as we have it, if it be the work of St. Matthew, has been edited and there are in it elements that are later than the time in which Matthew could have written; but supposing that verse 40 is original with St. Matthew, nothing is more natural than that a writer who is so addicted to Old Testament quotation and allusion should incorporate here words suggested both by the words of Jesus and by the fact of the resurrection.

In brief, then, I take the meaning to be this: Jesus declines to furnish any sign in response to the demand of the Scribes and Pharisees save the obvious one of himself preaching repentance to them as Jonah preached repentance to the Ninevites. The interjection of a reference to his own resurrection under the obscure form (as it must have been to his hearers) of Jonah "in the belly of the great fish" seems almost to involve a contradiction of the spirit of his own words, "No sign shall be given except the sign of Jonah, the prophet."

The men of Nineveh will rise up in judgment to condemn "this generation," not because they believed that Jonah "was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish," for there is not the slightest intimation that they even knew of this; but "because

they repented at the preaching of Jonah;" and "this generation" will be condemned because it repented not at the preaching of Jesus though he is "greater than Jonah."

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I. In three passages in our Gospels Jesus is reported to have answered a demand for a "sign (from heaven)" by a refusal to give any sign, save "the sign of Jonah." Most interpreters hold that two of these references (Matt. 12:39, 40; Luke 11:29, 30) are in parallel accounts of the same event. Some, who find in the two miracles of feeding,[1] duplicate traditions of the same event, and who explain Matthew 9:32 ff. as a simpler form of Matthew 12:22 ff., identify likewise Matthew 12:39 f. with Matthew 16:4.[2] While it seems probable that the references in Matthew 12:39 f. and Luke 11:29, 26 f. are to be identified, the fact that Jesus was repeatedly challenged to give evidence of his authority[3] makes it unnecessary to trace all of these appeals to the "sign of Jonah" to the same time, since it is natural that a repetition of the unbelieving challenge would be met by the same answer as was offered at the first. We have to do thus with an appeal of Jesus to the "sign of Jonah," which was at least once repeated by him, and was thus felt by him to be specially suited to illustrate his own ministry. Wherein did this fitness lie?

It is quite widely held[4] that Luke 11:30 furnishes the answer, namely, that Jonah became a sign to the Ninevites in being a preacher of impending doom, and that their repentance on receiving this message was to constitute a condemnation of the Jews, who with a greater than Jonah to warn them, would give no heed. The latter appeal to the "sign of Jonah" supports such an interpretation, particularly in view of the form of Jesus' answer as reported in Mark (8:12). For that Gospel evidently counted the answer

[1] Matt. 14:13–23; 15:32–38; Mark 6:30–46; 8:1–9.

[2] So Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, I. 280. Wiess, *Life of Christ*, III., x. ff.

[3] John, 2:18; 6:30 f.; Matt. 21:23 ff.; Mark 11:27 ff.; Luke 20:1 ff. *Cf.* Luke 4:23 ff., John 7:3 f.; 10:24 f.; also Luke 12:54 ff.

[4] So Holtzmann, *Handkommentar, Die Synoptiker*, p. 140 f.; Beyschlag, *L. J. I.*, 239; II. 267, Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, I. 103.

to be simply a refusal to give any sign to the Pharisees. The account of Jonah's preaching in Nineveh[1] favors this interpretation also, for there is no hint that the Ninevites had any knowledge of the previous personal experiences of the prophet who was announcing their doom. Their repentance seems to have been due to the arousing of their conscience by the message of Jonah. Moreover, such an interpretation brings this answer into line with other teachings of Jesus. His reply to the last challenge by his foes was precisely such a claim that his authority was self-evident to a responsive conscience.[2] He called himself a prophet,[3] taught his hearers to judge trees by their fruits,[4] defended his disregard of Jewish traditions by simple appeals to conscience,[5] and, if Luke 11:33 ff. is rightly placed, at this very time he followed his reference to the preaching of Jonah by the declaration that the lack was not of signs, but of eyes to see them. The latter appeal to Jonah, according to Matthew 16:2 f., was accompanied by a like charge.

Such an explanation of the "sign of Jonah," however, is quite opposed to that given in Matthew 12:40. There the sign is found in Jonah's personal experience prior to his reaching Nineveh, and in that experience as prefiguring the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. Objection to such an allusion to his own resurrection by Jesus is not well taken, for at the opening of his ministry he made a quite parallel answer to a like challenge by the Jews in Jerusalem. From the outset he seems to have perceived that his path led through death to the accomplishment of his mission, and the thought of death did not at all suggest his own failure, only the doom that his rejection would bring on that generation.[6] He looked with firm confidence to his resurrection,[7] and taught that he would come again to execute the judgment of which he now was giving warning.[8] Matthew 12:40 commends itself therefore as a genuine saying of Jesus.

[1] Jonah 3:1–5.
[2] Matt. 21:24.
[3] Luke 13:33; John 14:44.
[4] Matt. 12:33.
[5] Mark 2:23–28; 3:1–5; 7:14f.; Luke 13:15 f.; 14:3–6; John 7:23.
[6] John 2:18–22; *cf.* John 10:11–18 and Luke 17:20–30.
[7] John 2:19; Matt. 16:21, 17; 32 f., 20:17 ff.; Matt. 26:31 f. and the parallels.
[8] Luke 13:34 f.; *cf.* 13:23–30; 17:22–25 and Matt. 7:22 f.

It is possible, however, that in accordance with his habitual fondness for ideal association, the Evangelist has brought together in verses 39 and 40 two sayings of Jesus which actually were spoken at different times. And, if Luke 11:30 is rightly interpreted as referring simply to the preaching of Jonah in Nineveh, it is necessary to accept this possibility as a probability.

But that interpretation of Luke is open to serious question. If Jesus found in Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites the type of his own work with his generation, why did he point his questioners to the future[1] for the manifestation of the sign? *At the time he was speaking*, Jesus was such a sign to his generation as the Ninevites had found in Jonah. In fact, as one reads Luke 11:30 more closely, one is impressed with this agreement with Matthew in looking to the future for the full accrediting of the mission of Jesus. The answer does not throw the questioners back on a consideration of what is already before their eyes, but in enigmatic fashion Jesus declares that at length the authority of which he himself was conscious from the outset, *shall have* full warranting. Furthermore, it is safe to assert that in Jesus' day such a reference to Jonah would bring to mind little else than his miraculous deliverance, and his *consequent ministry in Nineveh*. The nice historical distinction between the prophet's personal experience and the actual content of his message to the Ninevites would not be drawn by the contemporaries of Jesus. That actual message, moreover, would necessarily owe much of its impressiveness to the personal experiences, through which the prophet came to be so effective a minister of God. Apt, therefore, as is the story of Jonah's preaching to illustrate the relation of Jesus to his generation, the wording of Luke 11:30, and what we know of the habits of interpretation in Jesus' day, lead to the conclusion that Luke's more general explanation of the sign of Jonah should be understood in the sense of Matthew's more concrete interpretation; and to the conviction that, in the use Jesus made of the words, the "sign of Jonah" was the deliverance by which he came to be the bearer to Nineveh of the effective warning which led to the people's repentance.

[1] ἔσται, Luke 11:30. Holtzmann's answer is unsatisfactory. See *Die Syn.* p. 140.

The explanation of the sign of Jonah in Matthew 12:40 and Luke 11:30 may then be paraphrased thus: "As, in the personal experience of Jonah, God proved to him and to those who afterward learned of his attempted flight, that he was the chosen messenger to the Ninevites; so in the personal experience of the Son of Man *will* God give proof to all men that he is the appointed messenger to this generation." The sign in each case is in the personal experience of the prophet. In each case it has but an indirect, though weighty, relation to the message delivered. Each message claimed acceptance in virtue of its own self-evident truth, but each messenger delivered his message in the full consciousness of having been sent by God.[1]

That the case of Jesus was not strictly paralleled by that of Jonah need cause no surprise. No analogy is strictly perfect. This appears in Jesus' own parables, not only in such notable ones as the unjust steward and the unjust judge, but also in the sower. and in the allegories of the vine and the branches, and of the good shepherd. Such variation in the details of an illustration serves to fix attention the more exclusively on the actual parallel. which here is the divine appointment of the bearer of the divine message. It seems unnecessary thus to think of the resurrection as introducing a subsequent ministry of Jesus (through the disciples[2]) like the ministry following Jonah's deliverance. Jesus seems rather to exclude such an interpretation by his saying later "they (the men of Nineveh) repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah *is here*." "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," is Jesus' characteristic commendation of his message. If men have not ears and must needs have a "sign from heaven," God will give that to them when they have wrought their pleasure on his messenger.[3]

Two minor questions of interpretation call for a word. (1) The form of the expression, "so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," is obviously

[1] *Cf.* Luke 4:43; John 5:30, and often.

[2] So Godet, Luke 11:30.

[3] For an example of such an appeal to a future sign to accredit a present ministry, *cf.* Exod. 3:12. See C. R. Brown in *Jour. Bib. Lit. and Ex.* 1890, pp. 120, 121.

taken from the story of Jonah.[1] That it was not literally fulfilled in the experience of Jesus is evident, since he was buried just before sunset on Friday, and he rose before dawn on the first day of the week. The absence of any correction of the expression in the MSS. shows that the early Christians found no difficulty with the formal discrepancy. They probably thought of a "day and night" as a single unit, any part of which might bear the name of the whole.[2] (2) "In the heart of the earth" most naturally means in the grave, without further explanation of the relation of body and soul during the period of entombment.[3] While it is natural to hold that the hearers of Jesus would think of such a soul as in "Hades,"—the place of departed spirits, good and bad—there seems to be no warrant for finding in this passage a reference to a visit by Jesus to the souls of the departed.[4]

Having found, thus, that there is good reason for believing that in Matthew 12:39, 40 we have the same thoughts as are found in Luke 11:29, 30, only more concretely expressed, we see that in answer to the demand of the unbelieving Pharisees for a sign of his authority, Jesus at first refuses to give a sign. For what sign can be given to ears that are deaf and to eyes that are blind? Such deafness and blindness, however, lead his thoughts on to the ultimate issue for himself, and in view of his death and the victory that shall come to him in and through it, he qualifies the refusal, and declares that in his own miraculous deliverance from his foes, they shall at length find a proof of his claims as conclusive as could be found for Jonah's right to preach to Nineveh.

II. It is evident that in Jesus' words the story of Jonah is treated as historical. The contemporaries of Jesus held it to be sober history. And Jonah is appealed to in the same way as Abraham and David are referred to in the New Testament. It is to be noticed, however, that the reference is only by way of

[1] Jonah 1:17.

[2] See Broadus on Matt. 12:40. Per contra, Broadus h. l.

[3] So Kübel on Matt. 12:40.

[4] As do Holtzmann, D. S., p. 141; Weiss–Meyer, h. l.

illustration. And consequently it may not be said that the validity of the illustration passes, if the story is found to be allegory and not fullest history. So long as it served to suggest to the questioners of Jesus the thought of his vindication by a miraculous deliverance, the story would be an apt illustration. And we need not doubt that our Lord would use it without raising the question of the historicity of the record. It is not generally held that by his words in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Jesus has given sanction to the feature of Jewish eschatology which pictured the blessed dead, in waiting for the resurrection, as reclining in Abraham's bosom.[1] It is no more necessary to hold that he has here sanctioned any particular conclusion concerning the nature of the narrative in the book of Jonah. All that he has proved for us is that that story, as he had it and as we have it, offered him an apt illustration in terms of which to answer his questioners.

The allusion to the part the men of Nineveh will play in the judgment in relation to the generation that was rejecting its Messiah, is not so obviously illustrative. He who, in predicting his own return to judge the world, chose the forms of representation current in Jewish apocalyptic, might make such an allusion as we have here to well-known records in the Hebrew scriptures, without thought of positive and detailed prediction. But it seems likely that, whatever conclusion may be reached concerning the historical and literary character of the book of Jonah, a basis for its composition must be sought in an actual preaching by Jonah in Nineveh, which resulted in a repentance of the people.[2] This is all that is needed for the fullest acceptance of Jesus' words as a prediction.

The conclusion is clear. Jesus assumed the historical character of the story of Jonah. His use of it, however, was such as to give no warrant for the opinion that he has undertaken to answer our questions of literary criticism for us nor to check our reverent and fearless inquiry. There is no evidence that such questions were raised at all in his human consciousness. Rather

[1] Luke 16 : 22 f.

[2] See Driver, Introd., p. 303.

does he seem, in this respect as in respect of his language and social usages, to have been made like unto his Palestinian brethren.

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Did our Lord in his reference to the story of Jonah and the great fish intend to be understood as declaring that the story was the description of an actual occurrence?

I do not think there is anything either in the text or the context indicating any such purpose. If the book of Jonah was known by the Master to be a parable written for the purpose of conveying a great moral lesson he might have referred to it in the language here used. He would not have conveyed a false impression since his hearers would have understood his reference. But it is asked, If the story is not literally true how could it be used as prophetic of our Lord's resurrection? I reply, that frequently in Scripture real things are described in figurative language. The story of the temptation of Jesus is told as if there were an actual and audible dialogue between our Lord and Satan, but most who read the passage no doubt agree with Calvin that it was an "inward experience symbolically expressed." We need not throw away the story of the temptation because we do not believe that Jesus saw all the kingdoms of a round world from the summit of a mountain; and we need not say we can never believe in him if he spoke to his hearers likening some event in his own future to an experience described in a parable with which they were familiar. It was customary for the Jews to use all manner of figurative speech. Preachers not infrequently refer to the good bishop in *Les Miserables* as if he were an historical person; but because Canon Stubbs speaks of that story as if it were true no one thinks that he means to be so understood, and if it is not true he can never be trusted again. He took it for granted that his hearers understood him and did not need to qualify his statement. It is quite conceivable that our Lord spoke in the same way. My belief is that no conclusion concerning the historicity of the story of Jonah and the fish can be drawn from our Lord's words, and that that fact should not

in the slightest affect our faith in him. He was not asked about that story; he was asked for a sign, and his reference to Jonah was incidental, and used because it would be easily understood by those whom he addressed. I express no opinion concerning the book of Jonah itself, as the inquiry is only concerning this passage in St. Matthew's Gospel.

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Interpretation. The question is: How did Jonah become a sign? Matthew replies: by the sea-monster miracle, analogous to Christ's resurrection. But Luke 11:30 may mean that Jonah was a sign like Christ, by preaching repentance in view of coming judgment. Conservatives underestimate the strength of this view by assuming it implies that Jonah's sign was only a call to repentance. Jonah cried "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." So Christ proclaimed "Repent or Jerusalem shall shortly be overthrown," and in conduct and destiny the Jews contrast strongly with the Ninevites. Were not the evidence conclusive against the genuineness of Matt. 16:2, 3, these verses might be decisive against Matt. 12:40, for they class the sign of Jonah with signs of the times, comparable to tokens of change in the weather. This applies to the impending fall of Jerusalem but not to Christ's resurrection (Weizsäcker, Untersuchungen etc., p. 451 f.).

But we need very strong grounds to justify us in impugning a statement like Matt. 12:40. Perhaps Christ's hearers would naturally think of the sea-monster miracle as "the sign of Jonah." And here too a good analogy may be found.

"In Jonah's life a miracle occurred which could have exerted a controlling influence in vanquishing opposition to him. Yet this did not help the Ninevites, since they learned nothing about it, but had to come to a decision on the basis of Jonah's preaching alone. Even so in Christ's life, a miracle was about to occur which could exert a controlling influence in drawing men to him. Yet this would no more help his generation to come to a decision than the Jonah sign helped the Ninevites; but they must decide on the sole basis of Christ's preaching" (Grass, K. K., *Das Verhalten zu Jesu*, p. 12 note).

On the whole, I think the exegetical evidence does not warrant the rejection of Matt. 12:40, nor is this important, if the passage be not misused.

Use. I have no doubt Jesus supposed the book of Jonah was historical, and have no objection to believing that he thought the same of the sea-monster miracle, though the evidence is less cogent. But the attempt to use such facts as arguments in the higher criticism controversy seems to me founded on a radically erroneous view of Christ's knowledge while on earth. It betrays blindness to facts when Bishop Ellicott, conceding Mark 13:32, adds:

> "It is, however, equally certain that there is no other passage in Holy Scripture in which nescience can be legitimately regarded as predicated of our blessed Lord (*Christus Comprobator*, p. 113).

The New Testament does not represent Jesus as consciously possessing omniscience, limited (if this is not self-contradictory) in one or more directions, but rather as having the normal human knowledge of his day, unclouded by sin, and supplemented in certain directions by superhuman endowments. Throughout his ministry Jesus showed full knowledge of all that belonged to the revelation he brought, and exercised the prophetic gifts of insight into character and future events.

Jesus was a miracle but not an anachronism. Knowledge beyond that of his day on subjects unconnected with his mission and message would probably have been an encumbrance to him and perhaps a cause of unnecessary friction with his contemporaries. I do not think Professor Briggs meets the issue when he apparently thinks that Jesus assumed ignorance which he did not feel, because "He was not called upon to state his own views of the authorship of this Psalm" (110) (*Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 118). This, for me, would save his knowledge at the expense of his character. That Jesus had a keen insight into the inspired meaning of the Old Testament such passages as Mark 12:26 f. show. Now if it could be proven that there was no Old Testament revelation, and if the supernatural factor could be wholly eliminated from the Old Covenant, then it would seem as if Jesus was at fault in recognizing the voice of God, when God

had not spoken, and this would impair his authority as a religious teacher. But, receiving his divine authority absolutely in the spheres of religion and morality, where alone he claimed it, I do not see why his knowledge of the literary history of the Old Testament should have differed essentially from that of his contemporaries, any more than his knowledge of chemistry or astronomy.

I do not propose to hold my trust in Christ in any degree at the mercy of the higher criticism of the Old Testament, nor do I wish to be influenced, in studying Old Testament criticism, by any fear of its reaction on Christian faith.

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It is not difficult to formulate the common belief to be found in these statements of men who differ greatly in their attitude towards many theological subjects. It is this: *Christ's use of the experience of Jonah as an illustration in no way gives his sanction to the view that the book of Jonah is history.*

Whether he himself believed it history is evidently not so uniformly held. In most cases the issue is not explicitly raised, but the prevailing opinions, whether directly expressed or implied, either (*a*) favor his sharing in the belief of his times, or (*b*) allow him to rest in indifference as to the historicity of the book. The utmost that can be safely said further is that Jesus was neither a modern critic nor an unthinking student of the Old Testament. In the light of the few data given us by the New Testament, dogmatism on either side here seems out of place. It will certainly be to the advantage of both conservative and radical to understand each other's position and to see that both alike are seeking after a correct understanding of the Master's words.

S. M.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

VI. The Kingdom of God.

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Kingdom of God—as connected with the Old Testament conception—defined as to its limits and essential fact;—conditions of participation;—characterized as spiritual—as both subjective and objective in character—as capable of growth—represented as in development and in completion.—Quotation from Pascal.

"The kingdom of God" is one of the commonest phrases which we hear on the lips of Jesus. He has nowhere defined it and we can derive a definition of it only from his sayings as to its nature and from the conditions which he prescribed for participating in it. The negative statements of Jesus as to what it is *not*, and the contrast in which it stands to the popular Jewish idea regarding the Messianic kingdom, also throw important light upon its meaning.

The term, no doubt, stands connected with the Old Testament conception which is so well embodied in a word of Josephus which has now passed into current speech, viz., "theocracy." The idea of the theocracy was that God is the ruler in human affairs. In Old Testament times this idea was embodied in a national organization which was at once a state and a church. To the Jewish mind the Jewish nation was synonymous with the kingdom of God. Jesus evidently takes up the Jewish idea in general, but without its limitations. For his mind the kingdom of God is something immeasurably larger than the Israelitish state.

"The kingdom of God" designates something more essentially spiritual than either a state or a church can ever be. Its limits cannot be marked off by the boundaries of an organization. There may be those within the pale of the outward, visible church

who are not true members of the kingdom of God—tares among the wheat. In all Christian ages there have been some outside the church who have belonged to the kingdom. Jesus spoke of "other sheep" which he had which were not of the Jewish fold—true children of God who were scattered abroad even among the heathen peoples—whom he would bring into his flock; and if there were such then outside Judaism, there have, no doubt, been such ever since outside historic and avowed Christianity.

I suppose that the kingdom of God includes all God's faithful and obedient children in all times and places. Who these are in actual fact, it is beyond the wisdom and province of man definitely to say. The conditions whose fulfilment makes men members of the kingdom are chiefly internal and spiritual, and only he who perfectly knows the human heart can pronounce that judgment. By the kingdom of God I understand what is commonly meant by the "invisible church," that is, the whole spiritual commonwealth of God's children, the true company of all faithful people. The organized or visible church in all its parts and branches—the church catholic or universal—represents more fully than any and all other institutions the kingdom of God on earth, but the two are not synonymous nor conterminous. The kingdom of God is more and greater than the church.

The kingdom of God is the reign or rule of God, and all in whom God reigns, that is, all who obey, trust and serve him, are members of his kingdom. The phrase which is peculiar to Matthew, "the kingdom of heaven," has the same meaning. It is the total company in whom heavenly laws and principles hold sway, and to it belong all who are trying to live in the spirit of that petition of our Lord's prayer: "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." This conception of the subject we will now test by reference to some of the most important sayings of Jesus which bear upon the nature of his kingdom.

Take, for example, the beatitudes in the sermon on the mount (Matt. 5 : 1–12). Jesus begins by saying: "Blessed are the poor in spirit," the humble, those who feel themselves spiritually needy and dependent, "for theirs is the kingdom of

heaven;" the kingdom is for such; to them it of right belongs; it *is* theirs. Here is described a certain temper of mind, a certain disposition which is, at least, *one* condition of membership in the kingdom. In the succeeding beatitudes the phrase "kingdom of heaven" is used but once (verse 10), but it is evident that the other blessings which are promised to those who fulfil the conditions specified are practically synonymous with the possession of the kingdom. When, for example, he says that the pure in heart shall see God, and that peacemakers shall be called sons of God, he surely means that these are members of God's kingdom. We may therefore say with all confidence that such qualities as meekness, desire after righteousness, mercifulness, purity of heart, and peacemaking do, by their very nature, make men members of the kingdom of heaven. These qualities represent in human character the true heavenly motives and principles which have their origin in God's own perfect nature and which in man constitute the perfection of personal life. Membership in the kingdom means to "see God," that is, to live in obedience and fellowship with him; it means to be a son of God, that is, to be akin to him in the spirit of one's action, to be ruled by love which is the sum of God's own glorious and holy perfections (see Matt. 5 : 43–48).

It is involved in the conceptions which we have reviewed that the kingdom is spiritual in its nature. It is not an outward organization, like a human government. Its laws are the motives and principles of goodness. This idea it was impossible for the people of Jesus' own time to grasp. They were so accustomed to regard the kingdom of God as identical with their own state, that they could only conceive of the coming kingdom as a renewed and purified Israel. Notwithstanding all the explanations which Jesus made regarding the spiritual nature of his kingdom; his disciples continued to think of it as having an outward, political form. When, for example, after the Master's death two of his disciples were journeying toward Emmaus, and Jesus joined them (though they knew him not), they said to him: "We hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel" (Luke 23 : 21); they thought that the death of Jesus meant the failure

of all their hopes in regard to the establishment of the kingdom of God. Clearly they had expected that, during his lifetime, he would reorganize and reconstitute the nation in greater glory and power than it had ever known. The Messiah was to be a kind of second David who should rescue Israel from oppression and trample down her enemies.

The same popular idea of the kingdom meets us in the request of James and John that they might sit, one on his right hand, and the other on his left in his glory (Mark 10 : 37). Their thought of participation in his kingdom was that of attaining a high place in a world-empire. How striking is the contrast between this idea and that which Jesus expounds to them, that service and sacrifice are the laws of his kingdom, and that he who gives most to others, not he who seeks most for himself, shall have the highest place in it.

The current idea is illustrated in the question which the disciples put to Jesus after the resurrection: "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). The thought which was in their minds was the same as that which is alluded to when we are told that Jesus spoke a certain parable "because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they (the disciples) supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear" (Luke 19:11). Their idea evidently was that Jesus was going to Jerusalem to inaugurate the new *régime*. The kingdom was, in their view, something that was to "appear" in outward pomp and power. How different the idea of Jesus as set forth in the words: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:20, 21). It seems to me probable that the phrase which is rendered in our versions "within you," should be translated as in the margin of the Revised Version, "in the midst of you," or "among you." Jesus is here answering the question of the Pharisees as to when the kingdom of God should come and to them he could hardly say that the kingdom of God was *within* them. But, on either rendering, the invisible, spiritual nature of the kingdom is set forth in contrast to the idea that it was to "appear" in outward

demonstration so that men could say ; Lo, here, or Lo there it is. The same conception is embodied in the Lord's prayer, where the petition: "Thy kingdom come" is immediately followed and explained by the words: "thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." The kingdom of God comes in proportion as God's will is done among men.

From what has been said it will be seen that the kingdom has both a subjective and an objective character. It is something real and potent in the world; it is composed of a certain number of persons ; it is a great commonwealth or fellowship But its members are not bound together by any outward tie, such as a common language or ancestry, or adherence to some particular form of civil or ecclesiastical polity. The bond which unites its members is the unity of spirit. They are one in him who is the head of the kingdom, Jesus Christ. The kingdom is thus an organic, spiritual society whose members are one through common relations of love and loyalty to Christ. This unity underlies all the more superficial differences of Christians and embraces all who accept and follow such a measure of the light of truths as they have received, even though they have not known the historic Christ, since all revelation is through Christ who is the perpetual "light of men," "the true light which lighteth every man coming into the world" (John 1:4, 9).

But there is another prominent aspect of the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God which remains to be considered. The kingdom is represented as a growing affair. How many of the parables of Jesus set forth this idea. The kingdom is like seed sown, like a mustard seed which becomes a great plant, like leaven. One of the most interesting parables of this sort is preserved by Mark alone (4:26–29). It compares the kingdom of God to the process of sowing and waiting while the seed slowly and mysteriously germinates, springs up, and develops through the stages of growth until at last the grain is ready for the sickle. This parable may represent the development of the kingdom in the individual or its expansion in society. In either case, it pictures its progress as an organic, enlarging

process which moves forward through the operation of divine forces toward the appointed goal.

It results from this conception of the development of the kingdom that the phrase "kingdom of God" may especially emphasize, now one, now another, stage of the great process. In an important sense the kingdom of God came into the world when the King himself came into humanity. Hence when John proclaimed the manifestation of the Christ he said: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." The term is quite commonly used to designate especially the *completion* of the kingdom in the future world. Thus Jesus is said to come in his kingdom, that is, at its consummation, and he speaks of drinking new wine with his disciples in his kingdom, meaning in the heavenly world.

This variation of usage is the natural consequence of the largeness of the idea. God's kingdom has always been in the world, yet in a special manner did it come when Christ came. It is here now, and yet in an important sense it is future. It is present in its imperfect and developing form; only in the future world will it be perfected.

The phrase under review is especially characteristic of the synoptic Gospels. It is not frequently used elsewhere in the New Testament. It is employed, for example, in but two passages in the Gospel of John, in both cases in the sense which we have found to be the prevailing one in the Synoptists. One passage is: "Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (3:3). The meaning is that a spiritual renewal, the birth of new character, is necessary to participation in the kingdom. The condition of "seeing" it clearly marks its nature as spiritual. In the other passage Jesus says: "My kingdom is not of this world," etc. (18:36). In the connection Pilate is questioning him as to whether he claims to be king of the Jews. Jesus does not deny the claim but strenuously asserts that he is a king in no merely outward or political sense. His kingdom partakes of a higher nature; it is heavenly, spiritual, divine.

This brief study of the idea of the kingdom may fitly close

with a paragraph from Pascal in which he eloquently sets forth the true glory of moral and spiritual kingship as supremely illustrated in the character and work of Christ: "The saints have their empire, their renown, their victory, their lustre, and have no need of material or intellectual grandness, with which they have no relation, for they neither add to them, nor take from them. They are seen of God and angels, and not by body and curious intellect: God is sufficient for them.

"Jesus Christ, without wealth, and without any outward production of science, is in his order holiness. He gave no inventions, he did not reign; but he was humble, patient, holy, holy, holy to God, terrible to demons, without any sin. Oh, with what great pomp, and with what prodigious magnificence did he come to the eyes of the heart and the eyes which see wisdom! It would have been useless for our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to appear with splendor in his reign of holiness, to come as a king: but with what a splendor of his own order has he indeed come!"[1]

[1] *Thoughts*, ch. xix. 1.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By Dr. Gustav Weil.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D. and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

PART SECOND — CONTINUED.

X. *The suras uttered at Medina.*—The twenty-three remaining suras belong to Medina, and may be more definitely apportioned, for their chronological order can be more exactly determined. According to the general opinion Sura 2 (the Heifer) is the first Medina sura, because Muhammad at first certainly could have no more important care than to win the numerous and influential Jews, and with the more reason because he had frequently appealed to Jewish testimony while at Mecca.[1] This, after a polemic against idolaters[2] and then against hypocrites, is the subject of a large part of this sura. He shows the Jews from their own history how they were ever lacking in true faith, even when Moses was with them; and contrasts the nature religion of Abraham with the inflexible Mosaic system and with the dogmatism of Christianity. He recognizes no forbidden food except blood, carrion,[3] pork, and meat which has been offered to idols, a prohibition appearing even in Meccan suras in connection with those against various other heathen customs in vogue at Mecca.[4] Moreover, at first he proclaims no command except belief in God, angels, the resurrection, prophets and their revelations, charity towards the poor,[5] orphans, relatives, travelers and slaves, prayer, fulfilment of

[1] Note especially Sura 10:94: "If thou art in doubt of that which we have sent down unto thee, ask those who read the Book before thee," and Sura 26:197, "Have they not a sign in that the learned men of Israel recognize it." *Cf.* also Suras 28:52, 53; 46:9; 87:18, 19.

[2] According to Weil some verses of this class may have been revealed in Mecca.

[3] Verse 168. Compare also Sura 5:4.

[4] Suras 6:146; 16:116.

[5] In regard to the manner of almsgiving see verses 264 ff.

promise and patience in misfortune. There is no mention of a particular position while praying, "God is lord of the east and of the west."[1] These general precepts which Muhammad revealed at the beginning of his stay at Medina were followed by other laws during the second year. While at first it was the rule that no one should be forced to believe,[2] now war against unbelievers was commanded, and even permitted during the sacred months.[3] No one was required to encounter too great danger,[4] prayer in such cases being permitted while riding or walking, although in general it had to be made while standing and kneeling.[5] Mecca was appointed as the place towards which one should turn in prayer.[6] Wine and games of chance, if not directly forbidden, were at least frowned upon.[7] The month Ramadhan was proclaimed a month of fasting.[8] Some sanitary, civil, and criminal laws were also given at this time, relating to the purification of women,[9] wills, notes,[10] usury,[11] divorce, women's rights,[12] marriage with unbelievers,[13] and murder.[14] Verses 153 and 192–200, which contain the rules for the pilgrimage, certainly belong to a later period, probably to the sixth or seventh year of the Hijra.

Sura 98, which is especially directed againt unbelieving Jews and Christians, probably is contemporaneous with the second and merely supplementary to it. So also Sura 62, which contains the regulations for the religious observances on Friday, but in the beginning has a tirade against Jews and Christians, in almost the same words as Sura 2.[15]

Sura 65 is partly a repetition and partly an amplification of the laws relating to marriage in the second sura, and must therefore be assigned to about the same time. Sura 22, which

[1] Compare verses 109 and 172.

[2] Verse 257.

[3] Verses 186–190, also 214.

[4] Verse 191.

[5] Verse 240.

[6] Verses 136–139.

[7] Verse 216. In a later passage, 5:92, 93, the enjoyment of wine is absolutely forbidden. Compare also 4:46.

[8] Verse 181 ff.

[9] Verse 222.

[10] Verse 283.

[11] Verse 276.

[12] *I. e.*, marital regulations, *cf.* v. 226 ff.

[13] Verse 220.

[14] Verse 173.

[15] Compare 62:6–8 with 2:96–98.

contains the first permission to carry on war[1] and deals with the institution of the pilgrimage by Abraham[2] and with the reward awaiting the refugee[3] who dies or is killed,[4] belongs to this time; but, even according to Muslims, a part of it had already appeared at Mecca, for it contains more invectives against the idolaters of Mecca than against the inhabitants of Medina, and verses 53–55, in which Muhammad retracts a concession which he had made to unbelievers and ascribes an earlier revelation to the artifices of Satan, leave no doubt of this fact.

A large part of Sura 4 belongs to the oldest Medina period. It contains more marriage laws and laws of inheritance[5] connected therewith; and, in addition, regulations regarding accidental homicide,[6] some commands to war, especially for the release of believers retained in Mecca,[7] invectives against idolaters, Jews and Christians,[8] rules for prayer in war and purification before it, which, to be sure, according to Muslim tradition is of later date, and, finally, some general moral exhortations,—munificence without ostentation,[9] honesty, and love of truth.[10]

The eighth sura undoubtedly appeared shortly after the battle of Badr, which is treated in detail therein. It contains mere repetitions of the call to war, and has no new matter except that pertaining to the division of the booty. Verse 73, which establishes the laws of inheritance between the refugees and helpers, which is again brought up in Sura 76, was brought out earlier, soon after Muhammad's arrival in Medina, when he established brotherhood between the citizens and refugees. On the contrary,

[1] Verse 40.

[2] Verse 27 ff.

[3] (Muhâjir) — a technical term for those inhabitants of Mecca who fled to Medina to join Muhammad. These held the highest rank in Islam. Muhammad distinguishes classes of believers thus: *companions* (çahâbat) — those genuine believers who were converted during the life of the prophet and had actually seen him face to face; *helpers* ('ançâr) — those converts from Medina through whose efforts the city of Medina gave allegiance to Muhammad: afterwards applied to all inhabitants of Medina; *hypocrites* (munâfiq) — residents of Medina openly professing Islam but secretly disaffected.

[4] Verse 57.

[5] Verses 1–32, 126–129, 175.

[6] Verse 94.

[7] Verse 77.

[8] Verses 152, 169, 170.

[9] Verse 41 ff.

[10] *Cf.* 33:47 and 2:5.

verse 68, in which the sparing of the prisoners at Badr is reprehended, may have appeared after the defeat at Uhud, which was ascribed to this mistake.

Probably Sura 47 comes next to Sura 8. Its principal subject is likewise the requirement to fight against unbelievers, and, like verse 68 of Sura 8, the fourteenth verse says that they must be crushed, and only after complete defeat is it allowable to take ransom for prisoners or to grant quarter to them.

Sura 57 can be placed, with reference to general contents, soon after Muhammad's arrival at Medina. Many indeed erroneously regard it as a Meccan sura, and ascribe Umar's conversion to it. However, we think that it appeared shortly after the battle of Badr, because verse 10 reads: "Not alike amongst you is he who gives alms before the victory [over the unbelievers] and fights; they are grander in rank than those who give alms afterwards and fight." It is certain that Muhammad first made such a distinction after this battle; furthermore verse 13 treats of the hypocrites, who appear first at Medina.

Sura 3, or, at any rate, a portion of it, was brought out to comfort the Muslims for the loss at Uhud, and therefore it must have appeared in the third year of the Hijra. The rest of it, made up partly of invectives against the Jews and Christians, and partly of friendly advances towards them, with reference to their belief in Abraham, may be older. On the other hand, verse 79, which eternally condemns all non-Muslims, certainly was later.

As the battle of Uhud determines the time of Sura 3, so the expulsion of the Banu Nadhir, which took place in the third month of the fourteenth year of the Hijra, determines Sura 59, a part of which appeared during the attack on their strongholds, and the rest soon after their surrender. It contains no law except that authorizing Muhammad's distribution, at his own pleasure, of booty obtained without a battle. The last seven verses may have been revealed earlier.

Suras 24 and 63, according to their principal contents, refer to the campaign against the Banu Mustalik, or rather to the events on the return. The date given for this campaign varies from

the fourth to the sixth year of the Hijra. However, it was most probably in the fifth year. Sura 63 contains the mutinous words which the hypocrites under the leadership of Abd Allah Ibn Ubajj addressed to Muhammad on the occasion of a quarrel between a man of Mecca and a foreigner residing in Medina.

Sura 24 contains the adventure of Ayisha, with which is connected the punishment for a false accusation of adultery, and in addition several precepts concerning domestic life, the chastity of both men and women, and the veiling and divorce of the latter. Some pertain especially to Muhammad's harem, which is said to have been kept more strictly than that of the other believers. According to biographical sources, the law concerning the oath of purity[1] appeared later, when Uwaimar, who had accompanied the campaign of Tabuk, found his wife pregnant on his return. This sura contains no other law except one about slaves[2] whose emancipation is to be made easy in every way by their masters.

Some months after the above-mentioned campaign, the siege of Medina took place. Sura 33 deals with this and also with the war against the Banu Quraiza, which followed almost immediately. Therefore there can be no doubt concerning the time of this sura, for although the passages in which the occurrence is mentioned may have appeared later, those, nevertheless, which refer to Muhammad's marriage with Zainab,[3] which was celebrated shortly before the campaign against the Banu Mustalik, must have appeared shortly after it. Only a portion of the regulations concerning Muhammad's harem were brought out earlier, as Ayisha's story of her escapade shows. On the contrary, the reproaches which Muhammad showers upon his wives[4] belong to a later time, and the verse which forbids Muhammad to marry other women or to take others in place of his legal wives[5] must certainly have appeared in his last years.

Verse 48, which allows a summary divorce in case a marriage has not been consummated, certainly belongs to the "Sura of

[1] Verses 6–9.
[2] Verse 33.
[3] Verses 1–5 and 36–40.
[4] Verses 28–33.
[5] Verse 52.

Divorce" (Sura 65) and shows us clearly how Zaid set about his work of compilation. This verse was apparently revealed later than the rest of Sura 65 for some especial occasion, and fell into the hands of Zaid when he was engaged on the thirty-third sura. Verses 44–47, if they do not belong to a Meccan sura, at any rate appeared early at Medina. It was certainly revealed at a time when as yet no war was permitted, for in verse 47 it says: "Do not follow the unbelievers and hypocrites, and do no harm to them, but trust in God."

Sura 48 belongs to the unsuccessful pilgrimage, or to the campaign of Hudaibiya. It describes the treaty with the Meccans as a conquest, and mentions the immediately following war of Khaibar. The three verses which form the 110th sura probably appeared at this time, if not right after the conquest of Mecca. So, likewise, appeared a part of Sura 61, especially verse 13, where, as in Sura 48, a rapid conquest is promised, and verses 1–4, which reproach the believers for not keeping their word. This probably refers to those who would not take part in the campaign against Mecca, which Muhammad hoped would be much more imposing, so that if necessary an entrance to Mecca could be obtained by force. Sura 60 dissolves the marriage between believers and unbelievers, and therefore belongs immediately after the return from Hudaibiya. It also prescribes the formula of submission for women. The first part of this sura must have appeared shortly before the conquest, when Hatib Ibn Baltaa wished to notify his friends in Mecca of Muhammad's purpose. However, the command not to take unbelievers for friends is so often repeated that it probably had been brought out earlier, for Muhammad had long since wished that there should be no friendly relations with the unbelievers.

According to Muslim tradition, Sura 58, in which the heathen formula of divorce, "Be thou to me as the back of my mother," is declared to be nonsense and the form of atonement for such an expression is given, was revealed just after the campaign of Hudaibiya. But the fourth verse of Sura 33 speaks of the same subject, and this, as has been shown, was revealed soon

after his marriage with Zainab, and therefore we think that Sura 58 is contemporaneous.[1]

Sura 49, the first part of which deals with the behavior of the representatives of the Thaqifites, appeared after the conquest of Mecca. In the following verses Muhammad seeks to restore harmony between the victors and vanquished, and warns them against distrust, suspicion, eaves-dropping, slander and haughtiness, for these vices would probably produce discord among the believers who ought to live like brothers.

After the campaign of Tabuk appeared Sura 66, which treats of the adventure with the Coptess Mary, and the greater part of Sura 9,[2] which is especially directed against those who took no part in this campaign, and against other hypocrites for whom funeral prayers are henceforth not to be said. The campaign of Hunain is mentioned therein, and also the mosque which the hypocritical Banu Amir had built. The new and stricter constitutional laws which Ali was ordered to promulgate before the pilgrims at the end of the ninth year of the Hijra form the beginning of this sura. But the two last verses probably belong to a Meccan sura, and Zaid Ibn Thabit himself maintains, according to a tradition in which the before-mentioned method of collecting the Quran is narrated, that he found these two verses last. Probably he then added them to the ninth sura, which, as a whole, is chronologically the last.

The fifth sura contains several verses which Muhammad brought out on his last pilgrimage, and therefore some Muslims consider it the last. These are the verses referring to the pilgrimage, and some laws about food, especially those repeated and further elaborated in the fourth verse, on account of the following statement that his religious teachings are now complete. The second and third verses were revealed earlier. The command to use sand[3] when water is unobtainable occurs in an earlier sura, and, according to Muslim tradition, is of older date. Likewise

[1] The rest of this Sura contains only generalities concerning belief in Muhammad and the reverence due him as an apostle of the Lord.

[2] Verses 13–24 belong before the conquest of Mecca.

[3] Verse 9.

the regulation concerning the atonement for an unfulfilled oath[1] points back to Sura 66, verse 2.

The law that a will must be signed by two witnesses[2] probably appeared earlier, some time after verse 176 of Sura 2. The same is true of the reproof against drinking and gambling.[3] But the law which punishes theft by cutting off the hand may have been given during the last pilgrimage, if we here, as in many other places, reject Muslim tradition, according to which this law was already in use. The rest of this sura contains some biblical legends, invectives against Jews and idolaters, and especially against the Christians and their doctrine of the Trinity. It is certainly older. Verse 85 proves this, for it calls the Christians friends of the Muslims, which could not have been said after the battle of Muta or the campaign of Tabuk, and verse 73 in which, like verse 61 of Sura 2, faithful Jews and Christians are promised a happy future life, while Sura 3 says,[4] "Whoever craves other than Islam for a religion, it shall surely not be accepted from him, and he shall in the next world be of those who lose." So, also, Sura 48, verse 13, "Whoever believes not in God and his apostle, for such unbelievers we have prepared a blaze." We cannot suppose that Muhammad became more tolerant towards Jews and Christians, for he even forbade them to tread the territory of Mecca.

XI. *A Shiite sura.*—We close this section with a sura from the Quran translated by Garcin de Tassy, from a Persian work entitled *Dabistan-i-Madsahib.* Before his time this sura was not only unknown in Europe, but there was no suspicion whatever that there was any doubt among Muslims as to the integrity of the Quran. But we learn in Garcin de Tassy's introduction to this sura that the Shiites or adherents of Ali and his descendants accuse the Sunnites, that is the defenders of the rights of the first three caliphs, of altering not only the oral teachings of the prophet, but even the holy text itself, and throwing out all

[1] Verse 91. [2] Verses 105–7.

[3] Verses 92, 93. He refers especially to the game of chance, called El Maisar, played with arrows. *Cf.* also Sura 2:216.

[4] Verse 79.

passages in favor of Ali. But the following sura, despite the efforts of Uthman to destroy all copies of the Quran not in agreement with his recension, was preserved in some unknown way. No positive assertion can be made regarding its genuineness.

"In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. O ye believers! Believe on the two lights which we have sent down to you to expound to you my verses and to warn you of the torment of the terrible day,—two lights, one of which has generated the other.[1] Certainly we hear and know everything. Those who hold to the alliance between God and his apostle, according to my verses, will possess gardens of delight, but those who apostatize from their belief and break their compact with God and his apostle will be cast into hell. They have injured themselves and been disobedient to the command of (God's) apostle, these shall drink boiling water. God, who illumines the heavens and the earth according to his will and selects angels and apostles, has appointed those (Muhammad and Ali?) to the believers among his creatures. God does what he will; there is no God but he, the merciful, the compassionate. People before this have been faithless towards their apostles, but I have punished them for their faithlessness and my punishment is severe and painful. God destroyed Ad and Thamud on account of their deeds and made them a warning to you; will you not fear him? Pharaoh ill-treated Moses and Aaron but I engulfed him and his followers, that they might be a sign to you. Most of you are profligate; on the resurrection day God will assemble such. They will be unable to answer the questions asked them and will be condemned to dwell in hell. God is all-knowing, all-wise. O apostle! Think of my threats! Some day they will be manifest. Those who turn from my words will perish. They are not like those who hold fast to your compact. I will reward the latter with a garden of delights. God is rich in favor and reward. Surely Ali is one of the God-fearing; we will show him justice on the judgment day. We indeed know that injustice will befall him (we have exalted him above thy entire family); he and his descendants must endure patiently and their enemy is the chief

[1] The Shiites speculatively regard Ali as a part of Muhammad.

of sinners. Say to those who are backsliding from their faith: Ye desire the pleasures of this world and exert yourselves to obtain them and forget what God and his prophet promise you and break the bond ye have made, although we sought to guide you by many examples. O apostle! We have sent down the clear verses, which contain a compact. He who holdeth fast thereto is a believer; he who turns his back upon it after thy death will be destroyed; turn from these for they are also apostates. Certainly we will again bring them forth on a day when nothing can help them; then will they find no grace, hell will be assigned them for an eternal dwelling-place. Praise the name of thy Lord and be of those who pray to him. Of old we sent Moses and also Aaron, when he desired an assistant. But they (the Jews) did violence to Aaron, yet his patience was excellent. We changed some of them into asses and swine and cursed them until the day of the resurrection. Have patience! they will be punished some day. We have given thee equal power with the apostles before thee, and have pointed out to thee some of them as object-lessons (for unbelievers) thereby to convert them. I will bring back at some time whoever turns aside from my commands. See! they enjoy their unbelief for a short time; you are not sent to preach for the sake of offenders. O apostle! we have imposed upon the neck of the faithful a compact with thee; grasp it and be of the grateful. Surely Ali is pious, he prays by night, fears the next world, and hopes for the reward of his Lord. Speak! are (such pious people) to be like those who go on carelessly, although they know my punishment? Their neck will be loaded with chains and they will rue their deeds. We promise you pious descendants who will not be disobedient to our command. I will show them love and favor during their life, and after their death on the day of the resurrection. But I will inflict my anger upon those who injure them after thy death; they are the impious ones who shall be destroyed. But those who go in their path (thy descendants) find grace with me and security in the gardens of Paradise. Praise be to God, the Lord of the world."

INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

II. The Historical Details of the Gospel.

By Shailer Mathews.[1]

Geographical references.—Political allusions.—References to social life with especial notice of the house, furniture, food and meals, common occupations, weddings and funerals.—The Pharisees.—Conclusion.

The Preface to the Gospel, as has already appeared, sets forth its author's intentions to write an accurate account of the gospel facts. In the course of such a story, a careful author would constantly be brought face to face with a great number of other and less essential facts which furnished the setting of the evangelical narrative. The importance of such historical material is less than that which composes the greatest part of Luke's book, but it nevertheless is by no means valueless. If it does not add especially to the power of the Gospel, it certainly makes that Gospel more vivid and gives us criteria by which we can form an estimate as to its historical worth. If we find Luke accurate in unessential matters, if we discover his details to be in accord with the testimony of other sources, we are the more likely to accept as true the story he gives us of the words and life of Christ.

The points at which examination shonld be made are two: (1) the common synoptic material used by Luke, and (2) the statements peculiar to himself. If accuracy is discovered in the historical details of both elements, a strong probability is established that in the more essential statements Luke is also correct. A forger would not likely be careful in unimportant matters, even if accuracy were possible for him.

1. *Geographical references.*—These are by no means extensive; in fact, as compared with those of Acts, they are singularly

[1] Much of the material of this paper was prepared in a seminar conducted by the writer. Especial acknowledgment is due Edgar J. Goodspeed and Stephen Stark.

wanting. Of the nineteen or twenty cities mentioned by Luke, only Sarepta, Emmaus and Nain are unmentioned by the other synoptists. The eight countries he mentions are also known to Mark or Matthew. This paucity of references as compared with that of Acts leads to the belief that Luke's knowledge was limited to sources not more extensive than those used by Mark and Matthew. The changes Luke makes in the geographical allusions in this common synoptic material are few and have already been sufficiently examined.

2. *Political allusions.*[1]—Luke (2 : 1) above all the evangelists is careful to give a tolerably complete political background to the gospel history. Tiberius is emperor, Pontius Pilate governor of Judea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee, Philip, of the northern mark, Lysanias, of Abilene, and in the infancy section Cæsar Augustus, Quirinius, and Herod the King are all mentioned. So far as is it is possible to verify these references they are evidently correct except in the cases of Lysanias and Quirinius. In the former case the difficulty is by no means serious, and, indeed, can hardly be said to exist, since it resolves itself into the question as to the possibility of there being two rulers of the same name. In the language of Schürer, "Luke is thoroughly correct when he assumes that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius there was a Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene." In the case of the governorship of Quirinius, the evidence at hand makes a satisfactory solution of Luke's statement difficult. Yet it is altogether too much to say that Luke is radically wrong. The somewhat obscure meaning of the passage as well as the likelihood of Quirinius having been procurator in Syria about the time of Christ's birth make dogmatism as unsafe on the side of hostile criticism as the difficulties of harmonizing the account of Luke with that of other sources render it unsafe on the side of friendly. The utmost that either party can safely say is that the matter is still under investigation.

3. *References to the social life of Palestine.*—These are far more numerous and explicit than either the geographical or political allusions. No evangelist has made more allusions to Jewish customs and institutions.

[1] Compare the article by Arthur Wright in the *Thinker*, December, 1894.

(1) The house. Luke adds little to our knowledge of Jewish houses beyond that to be gained from Matthew and Mark. But he is careful to follow his sources, and evidently knows in general the character of the buildings in which his Master lived. It is easy thus to infer that the house was comparatively small (15:8); was low, and reached by a staircase or ladder upon the outside (5:19). Its roof was a public place and with adjoining roofs would naturally become a place where news could be widely spread (12:3; 17:31). Its walls were soft enough for the thief easily to dig his way through them (12:39). Its door was fastened on the inside, and one who desired to enter knocked for admittance (11:7; 13:25). In one case only does Luke seem intentionally to have changed a detail furnished him by his sources. In 5:19, as if to make the story more intelligible to gentile readers, he speaks of the roof as being tiled.

(2) Furniture. Luke mentions the following utensils and articles of furniture: a writing tablet (1:63), a dish (11:39), a cup (11:39), a water jar (22:10), a lamp or candle (8:16; 11:33; 12:35; 15:8), a light-stand (8:16; 11:33), a measure (11:33), a money bag (10:4; 22:36), a lunch bag or satchel (9:3; 10:4; 22:36), a bed, or once (8:16) more properly a bedstead (5:18; 17:34), the family bed (11:7), a table (16:21; 22:21, 30).

(3) Food and meals. Luke calls the meals of Palestine by the ordinary Greek names, although "lunch" or "breakfast" (ἄριστον) occurs but twice (11:37, and 14:12) and then once in verbal form. He rightly regards either as suitable for entertaining a guest, and in 14:12 reports Jesus as giving a suggestion as to the proper persons to invite. At the "dinner" (δεῖπνον) at least, the guests reclined at the table (7:36) with their feet outward (7:38), and there were couches of different degrees of honor (14:7, 8; 20:46). In the exceedingly vivid account of the feast at Simon's house (7:36–50) Luke has also given us those words of Christ which mention some of the common civilities observed at a dinner.

The principal articles of food mentioned by Luke are bread, apparently made of wheat (13:21), ground by women in a hand-mill (17:35), fish (9:13; 10:11; 24;42), eggs (10:12), figs (6:44),

honey (24:42), beef (15:23). The beverages mentioned by him are the sour wine (*posca*) of the Roman soldier (23:36), as well as that ordinarily drunk by the people at large (1:15; 5:37; 7:33). "Strong drink" is referred to only in a quotation from the Old Testament (1:15), and water is mentioned by him as a drink but twice (16:24, and possibly 22:10). He speaks of oil only in its medicinal use (10:34).

The bread, except at Passover, was leavened (13:21), and an ordinary baking seems to have consisted of "three measures" (13:21). It was probably baked in thin cakes, as it seems to have been broken rather than cut (22:19; 24:30). These cakes were probably not large, as three were asked to set before a belated guest (10:5). The fish were sometimes, at least, broiled (24:42).

(4) Common occupations. Luke refers explicitly to shepherds (2:8; 15:4; 17:7), swineherds (8:34; 15:15), ploughmen (17:7), fishermen (5:5–7), corn-grinders (17:35), spinning (12:27). Laborers were in some cases slaves (14:17), and in others hired (15:17). Their pay was a denarius. Fishermen used a dragnet, and seem to have toiled by night (5:5). Banking and trading are referred to in the parable of the pounds. It is worth noticing that Luke alone of the synoptists uses no language that implies that Jesus had pursued any trade, and that he alone speaks of the support given him by the women among his followers (8:1–3). In this connection it may be interesting to note Luke's sympathy with the poor. This is seen not merely in the many parables and sentences preserved by him alone (as 1:46–55; 2:7, 16; 2:23, 24; 6:24, 25; 12:13–33; 14:21; 16:14 *sq.*), but in significant changes in his form of the matter common to himself and Matthew. (Compare, for instance, 6:20, 21 with Matt. 5:3, 6; 11:13 with Matt. 7:11; 23:50 with Matt. 27:57). It is, perhaps, an outcome of this sympathy that we find him thus recording the dependence of Jesus upon others for support.

(5) Weddings and funerals. Luke has little to say about weddings, and is dependent upon the common synoptic source. The bridegroom was attended by "sons of the bride-chamber"

(5:34) who, it appears, ate and drank and rejoiced as long as the bridegroom was with them, and afterwards fasted.[1] A wedding feast seems to have been given in connection with the wedding (14:8). It is further noteworthy that Luke, quite in accord with Jewish custom, regards betrothal as practically equivalent to marriage (1:27; 2:5, *cf.* 3:23).

He gives more details in regard to funerals. Immediately after death a lamentation was taken up by the relatives and friends of the deceased, or by those hired for the purpose (8:52). The body was wrapped in fine linen and bandaged (24:12 and 23:53), spices and myrrh being placed between the cloths or smeared over the outside (23:56, *cf.* 24:1). The body was then laid in the tomb. The tomb was sometimes so slightly marked that one might walk over it unwittingly (11:44). In other cases the entrance, if not the entire tomb, was above the level of the ground, and the door was blocked by a great stone that was rolled in upon it (24:12). These tombs were sometimes hewn in the rock (23:53), and were sometimes open enough to afford some shelter (8:27), and were of considerable size (24:2). Luke gives no special account of Judean funerals, but in the story of the widow's son at Nain (7:14 *sq.*) he gives several hints that may be taken as illustrative of Galilean customs. The body was carried to the tomb on a bier or, at any rate, an open coffin. The mother was accompanied by a large number of the townspeople, and from the order of the narrative seems to have preceded the bier. As Jesus met the procession as he approached the gate, it is evident that the burial-place was outside the city.

We have here a considerable amount of material by which to reconstruct Jewish social life. In almost every particular that he thus gives, Luke may be tested by the statements of Josephus or some other Jewish source. In none of them is he mistaken, and in several instances the exactness of the account is such as to render it highly improbable that Luke should not have gained his information from an eyewitness. For it is exceedingly difficult for a writer who is wholly dependent upon the testimony of others accurately to represent such insignificant matters as, for

[1] See Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, p. 48.

instance, the order of a funeral procession and the method of eating bread, unless his sources are approximately contemporaneous with the events they describe. The question of accuracy here becomes one of age. In the light of these details of Luke, discovered not merely in the common synoptic material used by him, but in that peculiar to himself, we have testimony not merely to the faithfulness with which he has fulfilled the promise of his preface, but also to the originality of the sources he thus says he has employed. It is evident from this as from many another fact, that the material of our Gospels is much older than the form in which it now is shaped.

4. *The Pharisees.*—The word "Pharisee" occurs in Luke twenty-eight times. In three cases only, however, is the reference to them at once peculiar to Luke and of special value (12:1; 16:14; 18:9–14). Nevertheless, in this as in preceding cases, it is interesting to discover the accuracy with which he uses the material to be found in the other evangelists. Combining all the information given by Luke in regard to this dominant part of the Jewish people we get the following result: (*a*) they were intimately connected with lawyers and doctors of the law (5:17; 7:30; 11:45; 14:3) and with the scribes (5:21; 5:30; 6:7; 11:53; 15:2), some of whom belonged to their numbers (14:1); (*b*) they were scattered throughout Palestine (5:17); (*c*) were lovers of money (16:14); (*d*) they despised the common people and sinners (5:30; 7:39; 15:2); (*e*) they were exceedingly careful to obey all ritualistic and legal requirements, fasting twice a week (5:33; 18:12), washing themselves to remove ceremonial defilement (11:38), and being extremely zealous for Sabbath observance (6:2; 6:7; 14:1–3) and tithes (11:42); and yet (*f*) they were hypocrites (12:1; 18:11). It was partly at least the attitude taken by Jesus as respects several of these matters that aroused their hatred of him. Thus his friendship with the lowly (5:30; 15:2), his disregard of fasting (15:33) and the extreme Sabbath law (6:2, 7), his teaching about wealth (16:14), all are mentioned as especially arousing their enmity. At first it would seem as if they received him hospitably (7:36, 37; 11:37, 38), and even during his Perean ministry they warned him

against Herod (13:31), but later they turned against him as they had against John (7:30), and sought his overthrow by any means, fair or foul (6:7, 11; 11:53, 54).

Besides these express references to the Pharisees and rabbis, Luke gives us instances in which Jesus himself was regarded as a rabbi. This is the more remarkable since he has carefully edited the word "rabbi" out of his Gospel. These implied references are both in requests made of Jesus by his disciples or others. Thus in 11:1 he is asked to follow the rabbinical custom and compose a prayer for his disciples. In 12:13 he is asked to play the part of an arbitrator or umpire.

The great rivals of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, are mentioned by Luke but once (20:27), but in this single instance we have recorded one of their most prominent characteristics—their disbelief in a resurrection.

In addition to these facts, there are a number of incidental allusions to various customs of the Jews that Luke could have gained only by direct observation or by the careful following of reliable sources. Thus the names given in 9:22; 20:19; 22:2, 66; 23:13 and 24:20 to the members of the Sanhedrin are those which at first glance might seem not altogether exact, and yet they are corroborated by the usage of Josephus.[1] For a commentary upon 9:52, 53 no better material can be found than in Josephus (*Ant.* 18: 2:2; 20:6: 1; *Wars*, 2: 12:3). In the reference of the parable in 19:12 to the journey of the ambitious but unpopular and cruel king may there not be an echo of the experience of Archelaus? There seems, also, a coincidence in Luke's account of the walk to Emmaus ("on that day," *i. e.*, the third after the Passover) with the rabbinical provision that pilgrims should stay seven days in Jerusalem after the feast, but might go if it were necessary after the third day. In his account of Christ's struggle for a right observance of the Sabbath, Luke quotes sayings that correctly represent the exceptions to the stringent laws against labor (6:7, 9; 13:15; 14:3, 5).

It appears, therefore, from a study of Luke's Gospel (1) that he has employed ancient sources both written and oral; (2) that

[1] See Schürer, *Jewish People in Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II., Vol. I., p. 177 *sq*

he has used these sources carefully and, to a considerable degree, critically. A comparison of his accounts with those of other writers will show that so far as we are able to check his statements they are uniformly true to the circumstances and the characteristics of the times in which Jesus is represented as having lived. It is not too much to say that a more extended comparison of these coincidences than the scope of these papers justifies will but strengthen confidence in this first historian of the church.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE SONG OF THE WELL. By KARL BUDDE, in the *New World* for March, 1895, pp. 136–144.

It is sought in this article to recover the true reading of a passage of Scripture by which that which was supposed to be a mere fragment of an early folk-song is pieced out so as to give us the song in its entirety and preserve to it one of its most significant thoughts, which by a corruption and mistranslation of the text has been made to do duty for centuries as a prosaic statement of one of the steps in Israel's successive encampments in the wilderness. The list of encampments, Num. 21:10–20, on the mention of one of them, "Beer" the well, notes that this was the well at which Yahweh had miraculously given the people water and introduces here the Well Song as having been sung by the people on this occasion. But an examination of the song shows that the words do not suit such an occasion, for the well is ascribed to the "princes" and the "nobles of the people" using as digging instruments "the sceptre" and "their staves," and no mention is made of Yahweh as the giver. The song, therefore, was evidently inserted in the list of encampments after the list was made and was not original on the occasion of Jehovah's miraculously providing water, but was an older folk-song with which it had been customary to greet the welling forth of water, when, as in the case of Isaac's servants, a well was actually sunk for water, or when on the discovery of a spring in the wilderness, the sheikh of an Arab tribe by a motion of his staff symbolic of digging laid formal claim to the spring as a possession for his tribe. The value of a spring of water in the wilderness is attested in the strife of the servants of Abraham and Isaac with those of Abimelech for the possession of the wells, and in the petition of Achsah, Caleb's daughter, for wells as a part of her dowry. It was natural, therefore, that the digging or the finding of a well should be celebrated with formal ceremonies in which singing would play a part, and that where ownership was not recorded in written documents the fact and the ground of ownership should be certified and handed down in folk-song more enduring than parchment.

The song as it stands, ascribing the well to the princes and nobles while the setting of the song ascribes it to Yahweh, gives the impression not only of interpolation but of incompleteness, and this is further borne out by the form, for in the five verses of the song we have two complete couplets, but the third parallelism is not filled out. Taking a suggestion from this fact, the author notices that the following line in the prose, "and from Midbar to Mattana," which apparently proceeds with the list of encampments, contains two words

Midbar and *Mattana*, here treated as proper names of places, which might equally well be rendered as common nouns, *midbar* a "wilderness" or "steppe" and *mattana* a "gift." Rendering the former as a common noun, we might read "and from the wilderness to Mattana," but for the fact that there is no article with "wilderness," and the more important fact that this would not resume the march where it last came to camp, namely, at Beer. Moreover, it does not appear that in getting to this next station Mattana, the children of Israel did get out of the wilderness. If now we render the second word as "mattana" a "gift," and read "out of the wilderness a gift" as a sixth verse of the song, a beautiful thought is added and the parallelism is completed for a third couplet. The song now reads:

Spring up, O Well,
Sing ye to it.
Thou well, dug by princes,
Sunk by the nobles of the people,
With the sceptre, with their staves:
Out of the desert a gift!

a poem complete in thought and structure.

In order, however, to reach this result the text must be amended, for the removal of Midbar and Mattana from the list of encampments still leaves no provision for the departure of Israel from Beer where they last encamped, and the following line, "from Mattana to Nachaliël," treats Mattana as the proper name of an encampment. Fortunately here the Septuagint may be appealed to, which has preserved the words "and from Beer" and in some important manuscripts has left out the words "and from Mattana." Adopting these readings, the record of the encampments and movements becomes consecutive "and from thence to Beer [the song of six verses interpolated] and from Beer to Nachaliël and from Nachaliël to Bamot."

It only remains to explain how such a corruption and loss of this sixth verse of the song could have occurred. In Hebrew the words "out of the desert a gift" presents the same formula of words as the "out of (from)—— to ——," the formula in which each stage of the march is regularly stated, so that the words "midbar" and "mattana" were easily mistaken for names of places. Then a final letter *waw* in the archaic ending of a preceding word was mistaken for the conjunction *waw* introducing this clause and completing the formula. Then in the following stage "and from Beer to Nachaliël," some scribes saw that when the Israelites had reached Mattana, they could not take their next departure from Beer, so they amended the text by dropping out "and from Beer" and substituting "and from Mattana." Others, followed by the Septuagint, seeing that the Israelites after singing the song must have taken their departure from Beer, took the words "and from Beer," which coming after "Mattana" seemed to be set two words too late and substituted them for the supposedly erroneous words "and from Midbar."

Thus we now have this beautiful little song of ancient days no longer as a fragment but entire. The restoration should find a place as soon as possible in the English Bible. The Revised Version has taken a step in this direction by rendering "Midbar" *from the wilderness*, but it remains for the next revision to render Mattana also as a common noun, "a gift," and give the line "out of the wilderness a gift" its proper place as the sixth verse of the song. D. A. W.

PROFESSOR F. BLASS ON THE TWO EDITIONS OF ACTS. By PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, in the *Expositor*, February and March, 1895, pp. 129–142, 212–225.

One of the most important contributions to the textual criticism and the interpretation of Acts that have appeared in this century is the new edition by the veteran Greek scholar, Dr. F. Blass, of Halle. Dr. Blass leads a conservative reaction in Germany. He accepts the Lucan authorship and the unity of Acts unhesitatingly. But he is not disposed to worship the "Eastern Text" (what we may call the "Approved Text") of Acts, and to reject the "Western Text" wherever it varies, according to the general (though happily not the universal) opinion of modern scholars. He considers that the Eastern and the Western Text are both original, both written by Luke himself; and his views on this point are probably the feature of his book that will attract most attention.

The Eastern Text has been determined with very considerable accuracy, in the form which it had in the early part of the fourth century, and which Westcott and Hort's edition probably gives more correctly than any other of the great modern editions, though all admit that it does not give the exact text as it was written by the author. As to how the Western Text came into existence there is no agreement. Does the Western Text help us to get behind the Eastern Text in order to reach the true Lucan text? What is the genesis of the text contained in Codex Bezae, the best representative—but a bad representative—of the Western Text? What is the Western Text? What is the origin and authority of those readings in the Western Text which obviously go back to a different original from the Eastern?

Professor Blass maintains that Luke wrote two divergent copies, and that the Eastern Text springs from one, the Western from the other, of the two Lucan copies; both texts, then, have equal authority, provided that we can recover their original from amid the corruptions (more or less numerous) which have affected them. The only satisfactory method of establishing such a theory is to restore the Western Text, and let it justify itself. No systematic attempt has hitherto been made, but now Dr. Blass has essayed it. After mature consideration, I am confirmed in the opinion that the text as settled by Dr. Blass is not Lucan; it has a superficial smoothness, which is fatal; it loses much of the rather harsh, but intensely individual style of Luke; and it neglects some of the literary forms which Luke created. The Western Text is

really a second century commentary on Acts, the work of one who had no respect for the words, but much for the facts, who wished to make the book complete and clear, who had spoken with some of the actors in the history, or at least with those who had seen some of the actors. But it has a distinct and independent value (1) as preserving amid corruptions an independent second century witness, to aid us where all the great uncials are at fault, (2) as giving the idea entertained as to the meaning of the text during the first half of the second century in the churches that lay along the great line of connection between Antioch and Ephesus, and (3) as recording on trustworthy independent evidence certain facts which were omitted by Luke. However, the Eastern Text is the true text, apart from a certain number of corruptions that have affected it.

With the data we now have, probabilities must decide which text of the Acts is nearest to the original text of the author. The theory of Professor Blass, that Luke wrote two copies of Acts, at many points different from each other, one of which is the foundation of the Western Text of Acts, and the other of them the foundation of the Eastern Text, does not have antecedent probability in its favor, and does not work out in a very satisfactory manner. The established opinion that the Eastern Text is nearer the original than the Western Text may be held with much confidence. But how the variations of the Western Text arose is a matter of details which are not at all easy to lay one's hands upon. We know in general how the texts of the New Testament books underwent modification, and doubtless the text of Acts which came out as the Western Text passed through this common experience. But it may also have had some experiences peculiar to itself, whereby some of the additions which now appear in it are historically trustworthy. Yet we cannot go so far as, with Professor Ramsay, to call it a "second century commentary on Acts." At the most it is but a mild revision of the book, made presumably quite early. C. W. V.

Notes and Opinions.

The Primitive Christian Idea of Sunday.—One of the essays in the recent volume by Professor Zahn, entitled *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche* concerns the history of Sunday, especially in the early Church. He says: "The early Christians understood the fourth commandment to refer, not to the recurrence of a weekly, monthly or yearly day, but to the cleansing from sin and to the doing of good deeds with a good conscience, and in peace, and in the hope of the eternal Sabbath which awaited the children of God. The observance of Sunday for them stood in no connection with this commandment. For them this observance was at all times a product of Christian custom, and no distinction was made by them between Sunday and the other festival days which celebrated the memory of the great deeds of salvation, and drew forth the expression of gratitude by a service in the house of the Lord. It was not a command of God or of Christ, but the interests of the congregation, which cannot exist without a regular service and worship, and the duty of taking part in the life and work of the congregation, that in those days made the observance of Sunday a matter of conscience for the Christians. In the third century it was not yet regarded as heretical to teach with Origen (*Cont. Cels.* VIII., 22; *cf.* also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII., 35) that a perfect Christian did not stand in need of any particular holy days, for he at all times was living in the works, words and thoughts of the Logos, his real Lord, and was as a consequence celebrating the Lord's day at all times; and that only the mass of common Christians, who did not appreciate this ideal of holiness, needed such an external arrangement as a fixed day of worship."

The Apocalypse of Jesus.—One of the chapters in Professor Briggs's *Messiah of the Gospels* treats of this important and difficult section of the recorded teaching of Jesus. He regards the discourse, given by the synoptists in Matt. 24, Mark 13, Luke 21, as an apocalypse. It is intermediate between the Apocalypse of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John. As it depends upon the former and advances upon the Messianic idea contained therein, so it is the prelude to the latter and the key to its interpretation. It resembles in many respects the Jewish pseudepigraphical apocalypses, but this is because they all depend upon the Apocalypse of Daniel, and use the language of the judgment scenes of the Old Testament prophets. There is no sufficient reason why Jesus himself should not have used the Old Testament in the same manner. We ought to expect that Jesus in his predictions would bridge the time between

the Apocalypse of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John, and give an intermediate stage in the development of the apocalyptic prophecy, if, as we believe, these apocalypses give us genuine prediction. Recent discussions of the Apocalypse of Jesus have greatly enlarged and improved current views of the matter, for they have been based upon a comprehensive study of New Testament prophecy. But they have all been defective in their apprehension of the fundamental importance of the Old Testament prophecy.

Many scholars regard the signs and the advent in the clouds as purely symbolical, and of the nature of drapery or scenery to set forth more distinctly and graphically an advent which is essentially not visible and physical, but spiritual. Beyschlag recognizes that Jesus had in mind the renovation of heaven and earth, but he also insists that Jesus thought also of the spiritual renovation of humanity, and that the cosmical features are the dress of the spiritual substance, and that both the spiritual and the cosmical find their fulfilment in their order, although they were not discriminated in the mind of Jesus. This theory is tempting in some respects, but not satisfying. These cosmical disturbances belong not only to the theophanies and the Christophanies of prophecy, but also to the theophanies and Christophanies of history in both the Old Testament and the New. They represent the response of the creature to the presence of the Creator. They cannot be symbolical in the prophecy without destroying their force in the history. These signs are theophanic signs, and they show that a Christophany or advent of the Messiah is impending.

Hosea.— Professor C. H. Cornill contributes to the *Open Court* for May 2, a paper upon Hosea, in which he says: With all due acknowledgment of the greatness of Amos, it is impossible to acquit him of a certain narrow-mindedness. His God is essentially a criminal judge, inspiring fear but not love; and on fear alone neither the heart of man nor religion can exist. With the execution of the judgment matters are at an end, so far as Amos is concerned. What was to take place afterward, he does not ask. This was soon felt as a defect, and a reconciliatory conclusion was appended to the Book of Amos, which contains little of his ideas, and is at variance in all points with his doctrines. The real complement of Amos is found, marvelously developed, in Hosea, the prophet who came after him. To Amos's proposition "God is justice," Hosea adds "God is love." Not as if Hosea was any less severe in his judgment of the evils of his people; on the contrary, he shows himself even more deeply affected by them, and his descriptions are far more sombre and ominous than those of Amos. But Hosea cannot rest content with a negation. God is a kind Father, who punishes his child with a bleeding heart, for its own good, so that he may afterwards enfold it all the more warmly in his arms. Whilst in Amos the ethical element almost entirely predominates, in Hosea the religious element occupies the foreground. God is love. When we consider that all this was absolutely new, that those thoughts

in which humanity has been educated and which have consoled it for nearly three thousand years were first spoken by Hosea, we must reckon him among the greatest religious geniuses which the world has ever produced. Among the prophets of Israel, Jeremiah alone can bear comparison with him, and even here we feel inclined to value Hosea higher, as the forerunner and pioneer.

Why is it that Hosea is so often misconceived in this, his great importance? He has not rendered it easy for us to do him justice, for his book is unusually obscure and difficult. It is in a way more than any other book individual and subjective. What Hosea gives us are really monologues, the ebullitions of a deeply moved heart, torn by grief, with all its varied moods and sentiments. But it is exactly this subjectivity and this individuality which gives to the Book of Hosea its special charm and irresistible efficacy. He is the master of heart-felt chords, which for power and fervor are possessed by no other prophet.

Love, grace, mercy is with him ever the last word; for God is love. Thus religion becomes an act of love. God calls for love, not sacrifice, for knowledge of God, not burnt offerings; and requires thus a power of intimacy that till then was unknown. That dear, comforting phrase, "the Lord thy God," which places every individual man in a personal relation of love with God, was coined by Hosea, and is first found in his book. Even the requirement of being born again, of having to become completely new, in order to be really a child of God, can be found in Hosea. He is the first who demands that God shall not be worshiped by images, and pours out his bitterest scorn on the "calves" of Dan and Bethel, as he dares to name the old, venerated bull-symbols. In fact, he demands a vigorous separation of the worship of God from the worship of nature. Everything that is contradictory to the real, holy and spiritual nature of God is paganism, and must be done away with, were it ten times a venerable and traditional custom. That this man, as apparently a man of emotion, governed entirely by his moods, and driven helplessly hither and thither by them, should have possessed a formal theological system, which has exercised an immeasurable influence on future generations, is a phenomenon of no slight significance. It may be said that the entire faith and theology of later Israel grew out of Hosea, that all its characteristic views and ideas are to be first found in his book.

Christian Dogma of the First Six Centuries.—Principal Rainy, in a review of Harnack's *History of Dogma* in the *Critical Review* for April, criticises as follows the author's position with regard to the dogma of the early Christian Church: When the first German edition of the work appeared, it gave the impression in various quarters that Harnack regarded the whole dogmatic development as resulting from an entanglement of Christianity with the Greek mind and with the general culture of the Roman world,—an entanglement which simply burdened Christianity with alien material. In this view the

doctrinal result was wholly foreign, and could only survive for a time, although the time has proved long. In the later editions Harnack repudiates this as a misconstruction of his meaning. He accepts (with a *caveat*) Weizsäcker's *dictum*, "Christianity as religion is absolutely inconceivable without theology. . . . As a religion it cannot be separated from the religion of its founder, hence not from historical knowledge, and as monotheism and a belief in a world purpose, it is the religion of reason with the inextinguishable impulse of thought." The objection, Harnack now says, is "not to all dogma, but to this dogma." Two things he regards as legitimate — on the one hand practical faith in the gospel, on the other the historic-critical account of the Christian religion and its history. But a third element has been thrust in, viz., "dogma, that is, the philosophical means used in early times for the purpose of making the gospel intelligible, has been fused with the contents of the gospel and raised to dogma." In this last sentence three things come into view together — the doctrinal formula, the intellectual method by which it was reached (say, *e. g.*, by Origen), and the peremptory ecclesiastical inculcation of it. But formula, method and authorization are all alike turned out of doors as intruders, though one would say that very different considerations apply to the three respectively.

Now it is a most legitimate historical question, how far the doctrines which found acceptance among the Christians during the first five or six centuries fairly expressed the Christian revelation, and how far elements were admitted due to erroneous methods, or to ignorance of the limits within which any methods are trustworthy. It is very fair to expect that the thinking of the early Christians, in its best forms, might bear marks of the perennial weakness of man, and of the special infirmities of the age. But Dr. Harnack designates the Gnostic movement as the "acute" secularization and Hellenization, and then the whole theological movement, up to Nicæa and beyond, is the "gradual" secularization and Hellenization of the Church. When he does this, does he not suggest that it was all a perhaps natural, perhaps pardonable, perhaps inevitable acceptance of alien influence, but still an acceptance of alien influence, and a succumbing to it? Now why? Why, because the Church, which had to think, put in play the best methods of thought then existing anywhere in the world, and did the best she could with them. Probably the methods were imperfect; probably also the Church's thinking would not have been perfect, even if the methods had been better. But is it not likely also that the Church, providentially placed in those circumstances, did think to *some* good purpose? At any rate does history gain by a representation which suggests that there was some alternative course open? There was none. It is easy to conceive that the Church might have thought and acted more worthily than she did. But it is inconceivable and untrue that she could have any right to decline to use human thought in the best methods of it which the world had seen. It will be said then, perhaps,

that the fault lies here: The Church not only thought in Greek forms, but borrowed the results of extra-Christian Greek speculation and turned that into Christian dogma. One replies, suppose that more or less of this might possibly befall, still is this the main and characteristic account of the formation of the early Christian dogma?

Harnack is a disciple of Ritschl, who found reason for limiting strictly the field of possible Christian knowledge, and of possible revelation. For example, as to the Savior, what any Christian at any time has really *known* is that Jesus lived in a moral unity with God, of a wonderful and unique quality, and crowned that life by his death; that he preached and founded the kingdom of God in which a new consciousness of God's love was to give a new meaning to human life; that he proved able, and proves able still, to inspire into men the convictions and the impulses which his own life embodied, and that a life was realized in him, and is made possible to believers, in which this refractory and stubborn world is overcome; for all its experiences become subservient to a spiritual faith and to spiritual aims. The result is this—the first disciples knew what in substance has now been suggested, so have all true disciples since. Christ's life and words have made so much credible to them, and so much has been practically verified. But beyond this one does not *know*. Speculation beyond this as to who and what Christ was, either should not exist, or at least should not claim to be Christian truth. According to this canon Harnack judges the dogma of the first centuries as fundamentally undesirable and wrong. Now, if that is true, Paul, John and the writer to the Hebrews were all wrong no less than Irenæus and Athanasius, for they have all asserted the preëxistent glory of Christ. But aside from what Principal Rainy regards as this vital and basal error in Harnack's work, he has much praise for the earnestness, scholarship, historical acumen and clearness of his *History of Dogma*.

A vigorous but somewhat unqualified word is spoken upon the same subject in the *New York Independent* for May 16, by Dr. John Clifford, of London. The substance may be seen from a few extracts: "No reader of Church history will question the statement that the misuse of dogma has been one of the most fruitful sources of strife, ill-will and division among the churches of Christ, and that if Christendom is to be reunited, radical changes will have to be effected in the dominant conception of the place of theological creeds in the life and fellowship of Christian men. The churches of the New Testament had 'one faith,' but that was not an intellectual assent to a set of dogmas." "It was a devoted and passionate trust in Jesus Christ as Savior and Leader, Friend and Lord. The bond of allegiance was not to a document framed by contending theologians, nor even to a form of belief shaped by apostles: that one bond was perennial love to a personal Savior," "and it was their joy to tell the facts of his life and ministry." "But Christianity was carried among the Greeks and confronted by the Hellenic spirit. Now

that spirit held the mind of the age in its grasp and molded the expression of the thought of the age, old and new, in its likeness. It had long since captured the mind of Rome, but was now to capture the churches and lead them into the desert of endless logomachies and barren metaphysics. It asked for reasoned and clear views, it aimed to make the gospel comprehensive, absorbent of the worn-out philosophies of the Greek schools, to establish it securely, not in the invincible fastnesses of the divine life and spiritual experience, but in the theological architecture of logical statement and scientific formula." "Seneca speaks of this passion for 'hair-splitting' as the 'Greek disease,' and dogmatic Christianity, in its contents, changes and issues, is one long, interesting but often painful witness to the degree in which the Greek mind as it dealt with Christianity yielded to the same dangerous fascination. The Greek philosophy, in fact, supplied the molds in which the Christian facts were cast and the Christian beliefs set, just as the forms of Roman political life became the pattern of the Christian hierarchy. And so the Christianity of the New Testament passed into expression as a belief through the ideas and thoughts of Greece, and as a polity through the institutions of the Roman Empire. Could we detach from Christianity the elements which have been thrust into it from Athens and Rome, the lifting up of the Galilean would then 'draw all men unto him.'"

"In the particular 'psychological climate' to which Christianity was introduced such a dogmatic development was unavoidable, but surely it is not necessary that we should canonize it, and treat it as though it were a final and infallible work of God. With the Greek training and habits of thought, with their trust in the use of reason as the way to certitude, they were sure to build palatial theological edifices, to create 'schools' and 'parties,' to unite and divide on interpretations of the primitive facts and ideas of the gospel, to shout their party watchwords and engage in bitter controversies. But we need not treat their limitations as virtues, and place their poor philosophies above the gospel of Christ, lift the creeds of the early centuries into tests of church membership, and separate men from the body of Christ because they cannot indorse a particular set of opinions. Why should the fourth century tyrannize over the twentieth?" "What have we done that we should treat the theological findings of the illustrious councillors of Nice and Chalcedon as unquestionably true in fact and perfect in form? Are not God's children still taught by him? Is it not true that we 'have an unction from the Holy One and know all things?' If the theologians of the third and fourth centuries have buried the true Christ and the true Church under mountains of pagan error, it is not for us to fight with one another on the grave mounds, but rather to dig through the accumulated material and rescue Christ and his Church for the salvation and guidance of men."

"Not that I complain of the application of reason by the 'fathers' and leaders of the Church of the early centuries to the facts and ideas of Chris-

tianity. By no means. Christ himself uniformly appealed to the judgment and sense and reason of men. Dogma is necessary and has most important issues. We *must* have a reasoned statement of our faith. The deep significance of the gospel must be expressed in distinct and definite *living* language. But Christians must develop their dogma not out of Greek and Roman materials; not out of the débris of the word-fights of the brilliant swordsmen of the councils of the Church; not out of the philosophies of our own day, but out of the unique and luminous view of God, man and the world given *in* Christ Jesus. It is a *Christian* theology we need. It is a Christian creed drawn from Christian sources we must frame, and, when we have framed it, keep it in its true place."

Work and Workers.

THE new version of the Danish Bible was completed March 29, when the New Testament portion was published. The Old Testament portion appeared in 1871.

BISHOP BLYTH has received the firman from Constantinople sanctioning the erection of a College at Jerusalem under the auspices of the Church of England.

THE publication is announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons of *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, by A. Wiedemann, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Bonn.

SOME reduction has been made on the price of Professor G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. The second edition is to be sold at $4.50 (instead of $6.00) per copy, which is still a good price for the volume.

THE English translation of Dr. Harnack's *History of Dogma*, of which Volume I. has already been issued in England by Williams & Norgate, is to be published in this country by Roberts Bros., and is promised soon.

A NEW volume of the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges is ready, the second volume upon the Psalms, including Psalms 42–89 (Books II. and III.), by Dr. A. F. Kirkpatrick, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge.

THE third volume of Professor Briggs's series of four upon the idea of the Messiah has now appeared (Scribners) under the name *The Messiah of the Apostles*. It treats of the Messianic idea of the Acts, the Epistles and the Revelation.

THE chair of Systematic Theology in Chicago Theological Seminary has been temporarily filled by the appointment of Rev. W. Douglas MacKenzie, of Edinburgh, Scotland, to occupy the position for a term of three years. Professor MacKenzie will begin his courses the coming autumn.

A VOLUME of lectures on historical subjects, by the late Bishop Lightfoot, will be published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in the course of the present year, in their "Eversley Series." Three lectures on Christian life in the second and third centuries, and two on England in the latter half of the thirteenth century, have not been previously published. The volume will be edited by the Rev. J. R. Harmer, Bishop-Designate of Adelaide.

A SEVERE loss to Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, occurred last month in the death of the President, Rev. Henry B. Ridgaway, D.D., at the age of sixty-five. He had occupied prominent pulpits as a Methodist minister in New York City and Cincinnati. In 1882 he was called to the chair of Historical Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, and two years later was made President. He traveled much, and wrote of his travels. He died in the midst of many useful activities.

TWO volumes, instead of one as originally planned, will be required to complete Professor McCurdy's *History, Prophecy and the Monuments.* The second volume will be ready at the close of this year, and the third is promised early in 1897. Special attention will be paid to the internal development of the nation, political, social, and religious, and also to the literature of the Old Testament, as representative of the forces and elements that moulded its history and entered into its inner life and thought.

DURING the latter part of April a course of ten lectures was given before the Chicago Theological Seminary by Rev. Professor James Orr, D.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, on the general subject of "The Greater Movement in German Theology and Philosophy of Religion in the Nineteenth Century." The topics of the several lectures were: (1) Introductory Conception of Nineteenth Century Theology — Relation to Eighteenth Century and to the General Life of the Age. (2) Kant and his Relation to Theology. (3) The Speculative School — Hegel. (4) Schleiermacher: His Philosophy and Theology. (5) The Hegelian Left — Baur and the Tübingen School. (6) Æsthetic Rationalism — Fries and DeWette; The Mediating Theology — Rothe, Beyschlag. (7) The Liberal Theology — Neo-Hegelianism in Germany and Britain. (8) Ritschl and the Neo-Kantian School — Lotze and Ritschl. (9) Ritschl and the Neo-Kantian School—The Ritschlian Theology. (10) Ritschl and the Neo-Kantian School — Herrmann, Kaftan, Bender and Harnack.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., who is to lecture on Apologetics at The University of Chicago the second term of the coming summer quarter, is well and favorably known on both sides of the Atlantic. He has been for twenty years professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow, and has found time not only to meet the demands of his professorship, but to make his influence felt as a preacher, and to contribute to English theological literature several volumes of great value. His first published book, *The Training of the Twelve*, appeared in 1871 when he was still pastor at Broughty Ferry, Forfarshire. This was followed by *The Humiliation of Christ*, 1876, *The Chief End of Revelation*, 1881, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882, *The Galilean Gospel*, 1882, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, 1886, *The Kingdom of God*, 1889, *St Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894. Professor Bruce well represents the best type of modern biblical scholarship

Appreciative of the past, in sympathy with the present, believing in the right and necessity of free investigation, profoundly interested in the relation of spiritual truth to personal and social life, he is admirably adapted to be an investigator, a teacher, and a leader of thought.

THE presence of Professor Caspar René Gregory in this country the coming summer, as lecturer on Greek Palæography and New Testament Textual Criticism for the second term of the summer quarter, at The University of Chicago, is an event of no little interest to New Testament scholars and to Professor Gregory's numerous American friends.

The list of educated Germans who have won for themselves professorships in American institutions of learning is a long one; but that a man born and bred in America should secure a high place in one of the leading theological faculties of Germany, as Dr. Gregory has done, is believed to be without parallel. He was born in Philadelphia, November 6, 1846, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1864, and after teaching two years in a classical school spent four years in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, where after graduation he assisted Dr. Charles Hodge in carrying his *Systematic Theology* through the press. In 1873 he became a student at Leipzig, at which University he took the doctorate of philosophy in 1876, became *Privatdocent* in 1884 and was created Licentiate of Theology *honoris causa*, became "Professor Extraordinarius" in 1889, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity and was made "Professor Ordinarius Honorarius" in 1893. In 1894 the University of Pennsylvania gave him the honorary degree of LL.D. In the meantime, besides frequent contributions to the Reviews, he has published a translation of Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel* with a very careful and thorough bibliography appended, and a translation in three volumes octavo of Professor Luthardt's Commentary on that Gospel, besides furnishing for some eight years (1876 to 1884) the bibliography published in each fortnightly number of Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. His chief task, however, during the past eighteen years has been a preparation of the "Prolegomena" to the great edition of the Greek Testament which Professor Tischendorf, at his death on December, 1874, left incomplete. In furtherance of this work Dr. Gregory has made several journeys to various parts of Europe and the East, that he might personally examine the less known manuscripts. The result of these researches has been given to the world in three "Parts" the first of which appeared in 1884, the last in 1894. Professor Gregory confessedly possesses a fuller firsthand acquaintance with New Testament manuscripts than any other scholar now living. His lectures in Chicago the coming summer are looked forward to by biblical students with keen expectation.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

The following questions upon the entire course for the past year will furnish sufficient material for discussion at the chapter meetings during the month of June. Members of the Guild may send written answers to these questions to the office of the Institute. (See Postal Bulletin for June.)

I. *The Historical Situation.*

1. Give in general the configuration of the land of Palestine and state some of the probable effects of its geographical peculiarities upon (*a*) the history of the nation and (*b*) the literature of the Bible.
2. Make a brief statement of the political condition of Palestine in the time of Jesus and of the changes which occurred during his time.
3. Draw a comparison between the Jew and the gentile of this period in respect to the home and the social life.
4. Describe briefly the training of the Jewish child of devout parents.
5. Discuss the Jewish religious life of the period in relation to (*a*) its foundation, (*b*) its influence in commerce, trade, society, (*c*) its representative parties, (*d*) its centers, Jerusalem, the temple, the synagogue (*e*) its expectations.

II. *The Life of Jesus.*

6. Describe the character of the special preparation of the people for the coming of Jesus, in the life and work of John the Baptist.
7. In connection with the preparation of Jesus for his work (*a*) What characteristics of his can be partially accounted for by his home life? (*b*) What was the significance of the baptism and its attending circumstances? (*c*) Of what value to Jesus was the temptation?
8. After this preparatory period what attitude toward individuals and toward the institutions of society did Jesus immediately assume, as shown (*a*) by his choice of friends and followers, (*b*) his observance of customs, (*c*) his freedom of speech and action?
9. Suggest some reasons why Jesus' longest period of work was performed in Galilee rather than in Jerusalem.
10. Give several characteristics of Jesus as a preacher and teacher, (*a*) as to his ideas, considered in themselves and in relation to the ideas of the time, (*b*) as to the power over those who listened, (*c*) as to his ultimate objects.

11. What can you say of Jesus as a miracle worker as to (*a*) the motives of his action, (*b*) his methods, (*c*) the immediate visible results, (*d*) the far-reaching spiritual results?
12. Give a summary of the teachings of Jesus concerning (*a*) his own person and mission, (*b*) the proper attitude of men toward God, (*c*) the principles which should govern life and action in relation to one's fellow men, (*d*) the nature and the future of the kingdom of heaven, (*e*) membership in the kingdom and eternal life.
13. What significance did the transfiguration have in relation to the life and work of Jesus? Did it serve more than one purpose?
14. How early and how fully did Jesus perceive that his mission would involve his death at the hands of men and what was his attitude in the matter?
15. What preparations did Jesus make for the continuance of his work on the earth after he should have left it?
16. Trace the rise, growth and culmination of the hatred of Jesus by the Jewish politico-religious parties, and discuss it (*a*) from the standpoint of these parties, (*b*) from a purely judicial standpoint, (*c*) from the point of view of the Messiahship of Jesus.
17. Thinking over carefully the character, the purpose, the power, the uniqueness of the work of Jesus in connection with the background of his times, what conclusion do you reach respecting the nature of Jesus? State your answer as definitely as possible and somewhat fully.
18. What is your opinion of Jesus as an interpreter of the Old Testament law. Was his attitude a rejection of the law, an indorsement of it in all its details, or a higher interpretation of its principles?
19. What to you is the significance and value of Jesus' death? Of his resurrection? What would have been the value of either without his life?
20. Summarize very briefly the thoughts of Dr. Brooks concerning the reasons for the influence of Jesus on the moral, social, emotional, and intellectual life of mankind.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

Popular Courses. Beginning with October 1895, the popular reading and study courses of the Institute will, for one year, be devoted to the subject of the *Founding of the Christian Church.*

Those who wish to read books about this period and in connection with them the biblical text of the Acts and the Epistles will become members of the BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD. The books chosen for the year are as follows: For historical background, Seidel's *In the Time of Jesus*, Fisher's *Beginnings of Christianity*, a special curtailed edition of which has

been prepared for this course; for the narrative and comment, the *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* (now in preparation by Professor Ernest DeWitt Burton, one of the authors of the *Harmony* studied last year) a book containing the text of the Acts and the Epistles, with notes and comments, the Epistles being inserted in the record in their probable historical position. To this will be added the *Apostolic Era*, by Pressensé. This latter book will also bear upon the third topic, the Life and Doctrine of the Church. The course will probably be completed by a series of brief biographies of Peter, Paul, and John. There will be published in the BIBLICAL WORLD a valuable series of introductions and analyses by Professor Burton covering each of the books of the Bible contained in the course. An article upon some distinct topic relative to the subject will also appear in each number of the WORLD.

The monthly Postal Bulletins to members will be continued, and should the membership increase sufficiently to allow the expenditure, other valuable material, maps, charts, etc., will be sent from time to time. In order that the course may be adapted to the ordinary reader, and also to those having a theological training, a list of books for supplementary reading will be suggested to those who wish to have a more extended course.

The year properly commences October 1, but the regular readings will begin in the July number of the BIBLICAL WORLD. Members may therefore enroll and commence work July 1. The cost of the course, including books, magazine and fifty-cent membership fee, will not exceed seven dollars.

To those who wish to study for a few moments daily, the Bible text alone, the CLUB COURSE FOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN WORK will be acceptable. This course will also cover the Acts and the Epistles. The marked success of this plan of study (four thousand students are now at work) renders it unnecessary to make any material changes for the coming year. The monthly Direction Sheets will be prepared by a teacher of skill and experience, and will suggest to the student in simple practical form an inductive study of the material. The course will be equally adapted to clubs and to individual students. Clubs varying in size from three to eighty members and in constituency, of persons from eighteen to fifty years of age have been organized during the past year in connection with Churches, Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor, Epworth Leagues, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Circles of King's Daughters, Chapters of the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, in Sunday school classes, in college classes, in the home, where a novel but most practical use of the course has been made in connection with daily morning worship, giving this service a unity and continuity, and affording an opportunity for interesting and informal discussion and comment upon the suggestions given in the direction sheet. This course also commences October 1. In order to have the material for study in the hands of members in time to begin on that date the organization of clubs

should be completed early in September. Indeed, a judicious agitation of the subject all through the summer months may be necessary in order to create the requisite interest.

An interesting pamphlet, prepared by the Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, of Toronto, giving from the point of view of the pastor the results in the life and spirit of a church conducting regular Bible club work may be secured from the Institute office by all those desiring it. The annual membership fee for the work will remain as in previous years, the nominal sum of fifty cents.

Field Work. An Institute was held at Des Moines College, Des Moines, Iowa, May 1, 2, 3, under the auspices of the Christian associations of the college. The lectures were delivered by Dr. C. F. Kent. His subjects were as follows: *Present Possibilities of Bible Study, The Work of the Prophets before Isaiah, The Call of Isaiah, The Testimony of the Monuments* (illustrated), *The Early Sayings of Isaiah, The Later Sayings of Isaiah.* After each lecture the meetings were thrown open for discussion. The Institute closed with a symposium at which Dr. Kent spoke upon The Messianic Ideals of Isaiah; Mr. Cline, upon Isaiah as a Statesman; Mr. McMannis, Isaiah as a Social Reformer; Professor Stephenson, Isaiah as a Theologian. The deep interest was demonstrated by the large number of fundamental questions which were raised at the close of the lecture.

An Institute was also held at Kalamazoo, Mich., under the auspices of the Young People's Union of the city. The lectures delivered by Rev. H. L. Willett were as follows:

(1) General Characteristic of Hebrews, (2) Moses the Legislator, (3) Samuel the Judge and Reformer, (4) The Prophets of the Court, Nathan to Ezekiel, (5) Isaiah and his Contemporaries, (6) The Prophets of the Exile, (7) Post-Exilic Prophets, (8) The Messianic Prophecies.

The attendance upon the lectures averaged two hundred. As a result of this Institute a club of more than forty members for the study of the Foreshadowings of Christ was organized, and is enthusiastically at work. A second Institute will probably be held in the autumn.

Summer Work. The full announcement of the summer work, varying from lecture courses to regularly organized schools, to be conducted by the Institute during the summer, are out, and can be secured by addressing the office.

Book Reviews.

Der Israelitische Prophetismus in funf Vorträgen für gebildete Laien. Geschildert von CARL HEINRICH CORNILL.

As this book is professedly no more than a popular exposition of the outlines of the subject it would be unreasonable to expect the fullness and precision indispensable in a work intended for scholars. Sobriety of judgment, however, ought to be one of its leading features. Theories, no matter how plausible, ought to be stated as theories, and the opinions of a section of inquirers ought on no account to be put forward as generally accepted conclusions. From this point of view these eloquent lectures are open to grave objection. They represent a school, and that with a confidence amounting at times to provoking assurance. The lecturer is not a finder so much as a reporter, and what he reports is taken largely from the writings of Wellhausen, Kuenen, Duhm, Stade and Smend. The volume, especially the first two chapters, teems with audacious assumptions. We are assured, for example, that not a line, not a letter from the pen of Moses or a contemporary is in existence. It can be proved, we are told, that the decalogue was not written until the seventh century. The latter part of the book of Amos is unhesitatingly ascribed to another writer who felt that the prophet's representation of God was defective. All this, as every scholar knows, belongs to the domain of critical hypothesis, and therefore it is nothing less than misleading to propound it as established fact. If, however, the one-sidedness of the treatment is recognized and borne in mind, these clear and brilliant lectures, which are virtually an outline sketch of the history of Israelitish religion from Moses down to the Maccabean period, can be read with profit as well as pleasure. Much must be discounted, but much of solid worth remains. Amos and Hosea are very well handled. Especially happy is the description of the appearance of Amos at Bethel. But even in this part of the work the greatest care is necessary on the part of the reader. The remark that the thoughts of Hosea about the patient love of God were completely new stands or falls according as the date of the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus is put in the seventh century or at a considerably earlier period. As to the value of Israelitish prophecy no speaker or writer could excel our author in glowing admiration. Indeed, he overshoots the mark. "Israelitish prophecy," he writes on the last page, "was the Mary who gave birth to Christianity." More defensible is the closing sentence: "Would that it might never be overlooked or forgotten that humanity owes its noblest and most precious possessions to Israel and Israelitish prophecy." The real nature of prophecy is as little explained by Cornill as by his master Wellhausen. Amos is spoken of

as "one of the most wonderful and incomprehensible phenomena in the history of the human mind." "Incomprehensible!" Then it is admitted that Hebrew prophecy cannot be fully accounted for on natural lines. Elsewhere it is pointed out that when Amos foresaw danger from Assyria that country was in a condition of the deepest confusion and impotence, so that his foresight was not the result of political comparison. It seems then that the Old Testament contains a still unsolved enigma. Those who reject a supernatural revelation on Sinai in the time of Moses find themselves confronted in the prophets with a mystery which they are quite unable to penetrate. They have only shifted the difficulty, not solved it. W. T. S.

The Parchments of the Faith. By REV. GEORGE E. MERRILL. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894. Pp. 288. $1.25.

It is a pleasure to call attention to this little handbook of textual history. There are, of course, many larger and more complete histories of manuscripts and versions, of textual criticism and discoveries, but the author of this volume has compressed so much material into so convenient a shape, and writes so simply and attractively, that one is tempted to say that it is precisely the work needed by pastors and all students who wish a handbook rather than a treatise. The subjects of some of the chapters of the book will show its range and purpose: The Bible of Jesus and the Apostles, the Hebrew Manuscripts, the Targums and the Talmud, the Classes and Characteristics of New Testament MSS., the Two Older Greek MSS., Curious Fragments and Discoveries, the Later Discoveries, Illustrations of [Textual] Criticism. Especially is the beginner in these studies recommended to read the chapter upon the Science and the Critics, in which is to be found a rapid account of the great textual critics, with their most important works. The entire volume is fresh and up to date. Its statements are reliable, and altogether it gives an admirable popular treatment to a by no means easy subject.

It is a pity that the author did not give his readers a select bibliography, although this defect is partly remedied by the few footnotes.

The make of the book is somewhat better than most others published by the Baptist Publication Society, and in the light of the decided advance in taste and mechanical work shown in Dr. Lorimer's *Argument for Christianity*, encourages us to believe that this Society will hereafter give us not merely good books but well-made books. S. M.

The Argument for Christianity. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D., Minister at Tremont Temple. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894. Pp. 480. $2.

The general plan of this new addition to the rapidly growing library of Christian evidences is better fitted for a series of popular lectures than for a technical treatise — which we do not understand to have been intended by the

author. After an introductory chapter in which has been collected a number of more or less appropriate quotations from Lecky, Scherer, Lowell, Max Müller, Mr. Collins of England, James Martineau, Caird, the *Jewish Messenger*, and Robert Browning, not to mention many others quoted indirectly, the author devotes nine chapters to the arguments from History, Christ, Testimony, Miracles, Prophecy, Humanity, Achievement, Concession, Comparison. Throughout all these chapters the same generous use of books is continued, reference being made to 243 writers. Too often this compilation grows pedantic, and the cementing original matter overweighted with illustration. In one chapter, at least, however (that on the argument from Concession), the method of the compiler is legitimate, and of considerable value. Outside of an avowed book of quotations, it would be difficult to find within the same compass a more complete collection of the concessions made by men of all sorts of belief and unbelief to Christianity. In his chapter upon the Argument from Testimony, the author is naturally confronted with the one essential problem of modern apologetics — the bearing of historical criticism upon faith. His treatment is that of a man who struggles to be impartial, but who is a stranger to this branch of the biblical sciences except as it is set forth in popular introductions like that of Dods. His knowledge of historical criticism in general is to be inferred from his inability to distinguish between myths and legends (p. 45) and his indignation over the the "effrontery" of a Swiss guide who had insinuated a doubt as to the existence of William Tell (p. 127). An equally surprising exhibition of easy faith is to be seen in the author's enthusiasm over the scratches upon the rocks of the Sinaitic peninsula, which, it is affirmed, cannot be accounted for by any theory except "that which attributes them to the Hebrews during their forty years of wandering" (p. 57). Nevertheless, it speaks well not only for the author's catholic sympathy but also for the cause of evangelical religion that these words should be appended to this in many ways unsatisfactory account of criticism: "That it [historical criticism] has advanced the cause of truth, notwithstanding its frequent desertions to the other side, will, I am persuaded, be apparent from its contributions toward an intelligent and convincing argument in support of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament writings" (p. 131).

When Dr. Lorimer passes from these fields, in which the best treatment is possible only for specialists, into the more familiar sphere of evangelical argument and appeal, the worth of his work increases. It is true that even here there is little strictly original except characteristic earnestness and rhetoric, but the matter is certainly readable, despite a constant tendency to verbosity. What is far better it will be helpful to the rank and file of Christians. Above all would we congratulate the cause of popular apologetics that while this new work is not that of a specialist, it is marked by an honest and successful attempt to appreciate the position of opponents, wide reading, and an absence of much of the ignorant tirade against modern biblical study which too often marks the spoken and printed words of earnest pastors. S. M.

Current Literature.

BOOKS.

GENERAL.

Bullinger, A. Das Christentum im Lichte der deutschen Philosophie. (München, Th. Ackermann; xix + 256 pp., 8vo.) M. 4.

Gerock, Carl. Poesie und Religion. (Stuttgart, C. Krabbe; 29 pp., 8vo.) M. 0.50.

Haug, L. Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Ritschl's. 3te Aufl. (Stuttgart, Gundert, 1895; 152 pp., 12mo.) M. 2.

Steinthal, H. Zu Bibel und Religionsphilosophie. Vorträge und Abhandlungen. Neue Folge. (Berlin, G. Reimer; v + 258 pp., 8vo.) M. 5.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Cornill, C. H. Das Alte Testament und die Humanität. Ein Vortrag. (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1895; 24 pp., 8vo.) M. 0.50.

Coste, E. Die Weissagungen des Propheten Jeremias wider die fremden Völker. Eine kritische Studie über das Verhältniss des griechischen Textes der LXX. zum massorethischen Texte. (Inaug. Diss., 41 pp., 4to.)

Douglas, Principal. Isaiah One and His Book One. (James Nisbet & Co., London; 8vo.) 10 s. 6 d.

Strack, Hermann L. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Neue Aufl. (München, C. H. Beck'sche Buchhandlung, 1895.)

NEW TESTAMENT.

Cremer, H. Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch. 8te Aufl. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1895; 1046 pp., 8vo.) M. 4.

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